Essay on the Common Law of Ruanda

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Preface

101 563 Beyond the eastern shore of Lake Kivu extends a country of high hills called Ruanda. Nestling in banana groves, innumerable huts cling to the hillside, their smoke rising to the sky, and on the summits the brisk wind sways the pink grasses of the pastures where long-horned cattle graze. The exceptionally dense population con- [161] sists of about 3,000,000 Bahutu of Bantu origin who are dominated by some tens of thousands of Batutsi, Hamitic shepherds who have probably come down from the Ethiopian plateaus. Finally, here and there, Batwa pygmoids, potters and hunters, live apart from the other natives who despise them.

183 671 Europeans who first studied the customs of the country discovered to their surprise that they showed a number of points in common with our feudalism. The tenure of land and of cattle as well as [643] the dependence of persons are under a [4] strict regulation which the ruler of Ruanda has the absolute power to modify but which has, in fact, remained unchanged throughout the ages.

177 183 Our occupation has obviously had the effect of modifying the customs in many ways. For example, we could not approve of the brutal evictions and attempts on life and liberty made in the name of the right of the strongest. Evangelization has also introduced into the heart of the native society notions of justice and gentleness which are very different from the natives' original conceptions. However, despite 177 the efforts of our civil servants and our missionaries to attack what is 183 most to be condemned in it, native customs still largely holds its 563 sway due to the influence of the great Batutsi chiefs, who are eager to maintain their authority intact, and also due to that of the sorcerers, toothsayers, rain makers, and many others, who attempt to maintain the traditional law by playing on the credulity and superstitious mind of the Banyarwanda [Banyaruanda] and thus protect their prestige and their revenues. In addition, while realizing the protection we give them in repressing arbitrary actions, the Bahutu submit to the changes we

177 have brought to their customs rather than truly adhere to them. This
183 passive attitude is due to an inveterate fatalism which makes them
563 bow before the undisputed master, the Mututsi, and also to the antiquity of custom which makes it as respectable as an almost divine institution.

671 As is the case in the Belgian Congo and generally in [5] Black Africa, the common law contains not only juridical rules applicable to persons, property, and society, it also contains religious and magic regulations, various recipes, etc. Such as it is, it forms a disparate yet solid whole which gives the solution to problems arising from the individual and collective life of the Banyarwanda.

671 The common law of Ruanda, applicable to a homogeneous
184 population, is the same everywhere, except in the north on the
563 frontier of Kivu and Uganda, where the authority of the Batutsi over the Bahutu could not assert itself as in the rest of the country. This independence has resulted in the substitution of the administration of the Bahutu clan and family chiefs for that of the Hamite officials.

114 Those who have known Ruanda and its people best are the members of the Society of Missionary Fathers of Africa. The Reverend Fathers Lupias, Schumacher, Arnoux, Pagès, and Hurel have published, in the Anthropos and Congo reviews (among others) and in numerous monographs, elaborate studies on different aspects of the social, political, religious, and intellectual life of the Banyarwanda. The territorial governors Lenaerts and Sandrart have also brought fruitful contributions to the knowledge of Ruanda common law.

121 Nevertheless, we do not believe that a more or less complete account of the customs of private and public law of Ruanda has ever been prepared. This is what we have modestly attempted to do in the [125] present work by inserting observations gathered in a questionnaire set up especially to facilitate [6] the study of native law (1). We have

1. J. Vanhove, Questionnaire de Sociologie juridique, Brussels, printer Lesigne, 1939.

not been able to go into the details of all the institutions of which some, particularly those relative to cattle contracts, would alone require a whole volume.

124 But, in spite of the limited time we could devote to this account of the customs, we believe we have given the essential points

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[591] comes and lives with her husband (5). [8]

[575] 5. The polygamous Mututsi does not occupy his own dwelling. He visits in turn each of his wives in their individual dwellings.

597 Adopted children are also part of the family. Thus a child-
596 less man (inchike) can adopt a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu), failing this, a son of his sister (umwishywa), or that of a friend. A
[563] Mututsi cannot adopt a Muhutu child, and vice versa.

As the women cannot inherit, adoption provides a means for a
[428] brother to give his sister the benefit of certain advantages, for it has
[562] the effect of establishing a nephew as heir (kulaga, lit., to promise his property).

The adopted child acts exactly as if he were the son of his adopted father; he pays homage to the chief for him, he orders his affairs, he defends him in court, etc. The daughters call him brother
[586] and if they are divorced they ask him for shelter.

It may also happen that the umwishywa may become at the same time head of his maternal uncle's rugo and chief of the maternal clan (umutware w'umulyango ya nyina).

597 The adopted child may keep the inkazibiti (1) received from
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1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 41.

his true father, but may no longer share in the division of the latter's inheritance. It may also happen that he receives his share (indemano) (2)

2. Cf. idem, p. 42.

before going to his adopted father; in this case while being a client (umugaragu) (3) of the latter, he remains also, by the indemano, a

3. The patron is called shebuja.

client of his true father.

If the adopted child is disobedient or ungrateful to his adopted father, the latter may curse him and send him away empty-handed.

614 The clan (umulyango) (4) or inzu includes all those who claim

4. Not to be confused with umúlyango, "door."

a common ancestor who is founder of the [9] race. In the course of time the clan has become divided into several subclans (imilyango).

The clan and the subclan have names (ubgoko) that recall the name of the founder. Thus the members of the umulyango of the Abanyiginya are the descendants of Kimanuka who is the Umunyiginya (the first of the Abanyiginya). Ndabarasa, son of the Mwami Rujugira Chyirima, who became king under the name of Kigeri, was the Umurabarasa, the first of the umulyango of the Abarabarasa or Ibigina. This last name is what they are called at the present time.

614 775 Each umulyango possesses one or several animal totems (ibiziro). For example, the totems of the Abanyiginya are the crested crane (umusambi) and the ox-pecker (inyange); that of the Abega is the toad (igikeri); that of the Abagessera is the wagtail (inyamanza). The member of a clan will never kill such a bird, for example, because he believes that it contains the spirit of an ancestor.

614 563 The Bahutu belong to the same umulyango as the Batutsi and possess the same totems. However, they have a different name. For example, those who live with the Abega and the Abanyiginya are called respectively Abasavere and Abasindi.

2. The Head of the Family and of the Clan

596 The head of the family sensu stricto (umutware w'urago rwa se, lit., the head of his father's rugo) is normally the father. After his death, one of his sons, not necessarily the eldest, succeeds him. It may happen that the widow of the family head provisionally directs the rugo if her husband has died without designating his successor or when his sons are still children (1). [10]

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1. While still forming part of her [own] umulyango, the wife is, so to speak, incorporated into her husband's inzu if she has children. But she does not take the name of her husband's umulyango. The

582 marriage is allowed between crosscousins (2), for the sister's children

> 2. Crosscousins are those of whom the father of one is the brother of the other's mother.

belong to their father's family. An uncle may never marry his niece.

Endogamy (kwisabira ku mugongo, lit. to find one's self on one's back) and exogamy both exist at the same time among the Abanyiginya. However, they may not marry the daughter of their brother or their sister. Similarly, they may not take a wife among the Abungura, the Abasinga, and the Abatshyaba.

587 When a man dies, his father or his brother may marry one of his widows. Similarly, the son who succeeds him as head of the family may marry his father's wives, other than his own mother, on condition that they do not belong to his mother's family.

The husband of the deceased's sister may marry his sister-in-law (muramukazi), but not the latter's daughter (umukobwa wachu). Similarly, the brother of the deceased's wife may marry his sister-in-law, but not her daughter (umwishywa w'umukobwa). [22]

Marriage is permitted with the widow of a blood brother but not with his daughter.

582 563 The Batutsi may marry Bahutu women. For example, a patron might give his daughter in marriage to one of his clients of whom he is particularly fond. But an umugaragu is forbidden to ask his shebuja for permission to marry his daughter.

2. Impuberty.

582 In the past a young man and a girl could not get married before the age of twenty-five and eighteen respectively. A little girl (inshube) and a little boy (ingimbi) were sometimes betrothed, but they remained with their parents until the time of their marriage.

Nowadays a young man usually gets married when he is eighteen and a girl when she is fourteen.

584 3. Lack of consent.

The father chooses the wife for his son. If he is dead, one of his brothers takes his place in this undertaking. The son who is head of the family finds wives for his brothers and receives marriage proposals

592 The Batutsi women each occupy her own rugo with her chil-
595 dren, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the rugo of a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only for a rather short time.

574 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents.
787 However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more successful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aiding and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow] for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1),

[301] 1. In the past the husband spent a great deal to provide his wife with ububutega (rings made of grasses) which she wore by the hundred on her legs. This finery which weighed down the Banyarwanda woman's figure and interfered with walking was considered the height of elegance, for it gave her the gait of cows that are universally admired in Ruanda.
[481]

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be disgraced.

593 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The
421 wife owns her rugo, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi,
● 563 some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

from her husband.

837 husband and returns to her parents. The latter will attempt to persuade
586 her to return to her husband, for if she refused they would be obliged to refund the dowry.

The husband who finds out that his wife has committed adultery (gusambana, lit., to take another man) enjoins her not to do it again. The second time he strikes her. If she continues, he repudiates (gusendwa) her publicly. A repudiated wife is brought into disrepute and finds it difficult to marry again. Sometimes the adulterous wife is sent away at night, out of consideration for the family, so that her offense is not known by everybody. [29]

837 Formerly, if the husband surprised his wife in the act, he
586 would have the man arrested and beaten. Then before witnesses he
684 would repudiate his wife. If the accomplice was a nobleman like
563 himself, he was allowed to leave with the woman. But, usually, if he was married, he would return to his wife who would merely make a jealous scene. When the lover was a Mututsi umugaragu he was deprived of his property and exiled far away. If he was a Muhutu, the husband could demand from the Mwami permission to impale him like a cattle thief, or else he would thrash him soundly and have him driven away from the hill. An accomplice of the Mwami's adulterous wife was always killed. In none of these cases was the woman seriously ill-treated.

684 Our occupation has put a stop to cruel punishments, and at the
586 present time the wife's accomplice is not punished at all. Adultery
177 leads only to pecuniary reparation (itshyiru) by the lover. On the other hand, divorce is pronounced to the husband's benefit and the dowry is refunded to him, at least if there are no children by the marriage.

848 If the adulterous woman is pregnant, she will always claim that
586 the child she is expecting is her husband's. Being in doubt, the hus-
837 band takes the child (umusambanano) (1) as soon as it is weaned. He

1. General term designating an illegitimate child, including that born of adultery or incest.

also provides for his wife's needs but does not consent to take up again their life in common.

If the husband is sure that the child is the fruit of adultery, he has nothing more to do with his wife, and her parents adopt the child.

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184 and in Rukiga (provinces of Mulera and Bugoyi) where the land cleared and cultivated by the Bahutu are subject to a right of family property. This right is sacred and the Batutsi, whose power in these regions is rather nominal, know that they cannot dispute it without exposing themselves to serious miscalculations and even to bloody reprisals.

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[622] The hill chief also has the right to take a plot of land
[43] (ubugerure) from the Bahutu in order to form an ubuka which he wishes to give to someone else or to keep as his own property (imilima y'inyarulembo). The part of the plot that is left to the Muhutu is called isagu.

[428] The Muhutu can transmit his right of exploitation to his son by inheritance. Land that passes from one generation to the next is called indeka.

[574] Land is sometimes held collectively by a family in the person of its head (isambu or ingobyi y'iwabo). Members of the family pay him no rent and, to the exclusion of strangers, have the right to cut firewood and graze their cattle there.

[622] There are also communal woods (itshanya). The hill chief reserves part of them for himself and allows the hill people to exploit the remainder.

[563] The Batwa claim to be the legitimate occupants of the forests. For this reason they often enter into disputes with the Bahutu living near the wooded regions.

[622] Mines and quarries of clay are the property of the chief, but he allows his people to [43] supply themselves there in exchange for a payment (a hoe or some pots).

The boundaries (imbibi) of fields are usually marked by small ditches (impavu) or piles of stones (ibishyinga).

There are no neutral zones between lands.

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423 An inkungu is a piece of ground that has been abandoned because of the holder's voluntary departure or death without leaving an heir. A man who has been cursed by his father or driven out by the chief because of repeated thefts of cattle, for example, must also abandon his plot. The chief can offer an inkungu (or an ubugerure) to a stranger to the hill who asks to settle there. If he is a Muhutu, he is

426 by his son, his daughter, or his daughter-in-law, and possibly an umugaragu. In the past, if a debtor fled in order to avoid his obligations, the creditor had the right to seize his cattle, [82] his banana plantations, and even his hut. However, in this case, the children could keep their father's property on the condition of agreeing to work for the creditor until the debt was fully paid.

Sometimes a patron pays for his client if the latter has only a storehouse of provisions and if he needs the help of his family to work for his shebuja. If the umugaragu dies, his son takes his place. The obligation thus passes to the descendants until it is fulfilled.

On the other hand, the creditor's brother or son can act in the place of their relatives (1).

1. Laws of the Family and of the Clan, p. 8.

574 Hospitality.

The duty of hospitality is sacred to the Banyarwanda. Even a Mututsi will never refuse a Muhutu either ichumbi (lodging) or izimano (wood, water, and food). A proverb says; "Uwubaka wese yubakira abu Mwami (2), and whoever did not grant food and lodging

2. "Whoever builds (a house) does it for the people of the Mwami," which means that his house must be open to all the king's subjects.

to a traveler would be given the name of umugome (bad); he would be Uwanga Umwami (an enemy of the Mwami).

Civil responsibility.

672 Civil responsibility does not exist. The parents themselves however, repair any damage done by their children.

SECTION V. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

1. Nationality

● 563 The Munyarwanda people include the Batutsi, the Bahutu, and the Batwa. The Mututsi aristocracy of Hamite origin dominates

563 the mass of the Bahutu who are Bantus. These devote themselves to agriculture and raise cattle for the benefit of the Batutsi. The [582] pygmoid Batwa are kept at a distance by the Batutsi and the Bahutu and marriage with them is forbidden. They are hunters, blacksmiths, and potters.

173 The legendary tradition of the country explains the origin of these different peoples. Nkuba (lightning), first king of the country, and his wife, Nyagasani, lived in the heavens with their two sons, Kimanuka and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day, having come down from their heavenly abode the three children settled on Mubari Hill in the Urgweya savanna, near Kissaka, and Kimanuka took the name of Kigwa (lit., fallen from the sky). They lived there on the produce of their hunting and are versed in the art of forging spears, pruning knives, and hoes. Kigwa married his sister Nyampundu, and Mututsi went off elsewhere. But when he learned that his brother and sister had had some children, he came back to them and married one of his nieces. The descendants of Kigwa took the name of Abanyiginya; those of Mututsi were called Abega. They sold weapons and farming tools and thus became very rich.

They continued to live on Mubari Hill until the time when Gihanga (the creator), twelfth king [84] of the dynasty, began to overrun the whole country in order to dispose of the products of his family's forges. This Mwami "traveling salesman" was the first to exercise supreme authority effectively and was much loved by all his people, who considered him as a half-god after his death.

Gatutsi received many cows from his father Gihanga. His brother Gahutu, however, did not get any from the father because there was not enough cattle for him. Thus he was obliged to become Gatutsi's servant. Gatwa, third son of Gihanga, killed Gatutsi. The weight of this crime has fallen on the Batwa descendants of Gatwa. Gihanga had still other sons: Nyakarundi, ancestor of the Barundi; Kanyabongo, father of the Banyabongo [Baniabungu ?] people, who are now strangers to the Banyarwanda; finally Gahima, the first of the Bahima, inhabitants of Ndorwa, whom the Batutsi consider as their own people.

563 Whereas the Batutsi of Ruanda today consider their brothers from Rutshuru (Kivu) as Bahutu, they look upon the Batutsi of Urundi as their equals. On the other hand, the Bahutu of Urundi, by means

563 of the ubugaragu contract, can be integrated into the Ruanda society (1). But if a Mututsi of Urundi settles in Ruanda with his

1. There are also Banyarwanda Bahutu who go and settle in Urundi.

abagaragu, although he is the equal of the Batutsi of that country, he and his household are nevertheless considered as foreigners (2).

[166]

2. These migrations are caused by the desire to escape personal vengeance following the accusation of murder, a sentence of banishment pronounced by the king of Urundi, or difficulties encountered by a client in his relations with his patron.

727 567 In the past, at the time of the wars, the vanquished who were taken prisoner were killed, while the women and the boys and girls were carried off to slavery. A Mututsi could [85] even marry a woman prisoner if she were of noble origin; the children held their father's status. But as a rule he gave her in marriage to one of his clients; the children of such a marriage continued to belong to the master's household, but their descendants were free and thus became Banyarwanda.

567 A slave might even marry a Mututsi woman. It was thus that the Mwami Rwabugiri, who had captured a young man called Rusera Muhima, later gave him his own daughter in marriage and made him a present of the subdistrict of Rugarama in Bunyambiriri.

2. Royal Power

643 173 The Mwami (king) has supreme authority in Ruanda. We have seen that all the traditions ascribe a divine origin to his power. The annalists of the Royal Court (abatshurabgenge) attribute to the present Mwami Mutara Rudahigwa, thirty-nine ancestors who, with the exception of the first, Nkuba, who remained in heaven, have all ruled over Ruanda (1).

1. Many names have certainly been omitted from this list. Assuming that

651 The king also has the right to a certain percentage of the heads of game (gusogongera). In the past the Mwami also collected a certain number of cows [103] (iminyago) out of those acquired during wartime raids.

Some of the natives are subject only to the ingabo. This is the case of the artisans, hunters, and farmers who provide the king and the Court with bows, arrows, pruning knives, mats, skins, drums, honey, hydromel, etc.

The Batwa are subject to no actual fiscal obligation to the king and chiefs. Potters must only furnish pots and pitchers to the court and provide the Mwami, his wife, and the Umugabekazi with ingobyi. They are also the executors of the king's great undertakings. The hunters' payments consist of ivory, skins, and fragrant wood.

687 Punitive sanctions are provided in the case of nonexecution of these obligations. The hill and provincial chiefs as well as the king have the Bahutu cudgeled and take the cows away from the Batutsi. In the past, the Mwami would even sometimes have the Batwa executioners cut off the ears (kubiha) of the Bahutu who are delinquent in tax payment.

651 486 A toll (ihoro) is paid by those who cross any water. To cross a larger river such as the Nyawarongo, the tax is paid to the provincial chief who refunds some of it to the boatmen.

Merchants must also pay a toll to the chief whose territory they cross. [104]

14. Secret Societies

575 563 668 The sect known as the Nyabingi (or Biheko) has its origin in the name of the Queen of Ndorwa who was killed by the warriors of Mwami Rwabugiri, resulting in a marked hostility to the Batutsi and the royal authority on the part of the Queen's descendants. Also, these people have become Bahutu by their marriages with commoners. These are sufficient reasons for the "Baheko" [sic] to be considered rescuers by the Bahutu, especially in the north of Ruanda where the resistance, if not the hostility, to the Batutsi and their administration is much stronger than in the rest of the country.

From Ndorwa where it originated, the sect spread out to Buberuka, Mulera, Bugoyi, and even to Buganza and Bwanachyambwe.

575 The propagandists are mostly women who claim they are possessed
563 by the spirit of Nyabingi. Every Nyabingi woman has at her dis-
668 posal a certain number of abagirwa who are her servants but who often exploit for her the naïve Bahutu by exacting from them presents supposedly intended to honor Nyabingi [by inducing them] to thank her for protecting them from the Batutsi and even from the Europeans.

The Nyabingi sect has therefore a very harmful influence, not only because it keeps the Muhutu in worthless beliefs and takes advantage of his credulity by exacting from him large presents (baskets of peas, beans, and sorghum, and also sheep, goats, bull calves, and heifers) but especially because it preaches respect for an authority independent from the Mwami and excites hatred of the Batutsi chiefs and also of the occupying power. [105]

15. Social Classes

563 The Bahutu, dominated by the Batutsi, with the addition of
565 a few groups of Batwa, constitute the population of the Banyarwanda.

But the Bahutu, like the Batutsi, are subdivided into several categories, each having a special name.

565 The poor Muhutu who has only a miserable patch of land, is called umutindi. If his poverty is less great, his name is umugabo. An umukungu is a man who is well provided for, owning several fields and numerous heads of cattle.

Similarly, according to their progressive wealth, the Batutsi are umukene, umukire, umutunzi, and umutware. The abatware make up a restricted aristocracy called imfura.

554 As we have seen, the favor of the Mwami or of the great chiefs may have the effect of appreciably improving the social position of
558 even a ordinary Muhutu. On the other hand, an important chief may be reduced to the most miserable condition if he has displeased the king or if he has been cursed by his father.

[563] The Batwa are all on the same footing and are universally despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

727 In the past, enemy warriors were usually massacred. The
567 noble women, reduced to slavery, were considered as Batutsikazi;

137 better resists the periodic grass fires and adds a peculiar feature to the scenery of the mountains (Plate 4b). The growth of grass and trees in the hot, dry plain of the Ruzizi lowland (Plate 3a) is, however, very much like a steppe.

As a result of the expansion of the population and the
136 destruction of the forest, free wildlife also has been considerably reduced. In the grassland there remain only very few antelope (Jimela, tuft antelope, gazelles), and of large birds only crowned cranes which because of their great numbers might be called the heraldic animal of Urundi and Ruanda, further bustards, herons, ibises, francolins, Nile geese, etc. In the forests on the riverbanks one still finds bushbucks (Tragelaphus), swamp antelopes, and duikers. In the water itself there are numerous hippopotamuses, crocodiles, and otters. In the remaining parts of forest on the highland periphery and in the tree steppe of the Ruzizi lowland, there still live quite a number of elephants, buffalo, baboons, etc. Everywhere leopards are quite frequent. Especially interesting is the mixture of East African and West African forms in this area which in terms of plant and animal geography is a border region. Just as num-
[137] erous plants, flora of the West African forest, have penetrated into this region and in part even as far as Lake Victoria, so also have many small and large representatives of West African fauna; I shall mention only the gray parrot, the giant touraco, the hornbill, and, of the mammals, the red buffalo, the chimpanzee, and the gorilla. Because of this mixture of East and West African forms, the plant and animal collections of this bio-geographical border zone which extends through western Urundi and western Ruanda are very interesting.

2. The Population

563 Even more interesting than the mixture of flora and fauna is the population mixture, both in Urundi and in Ruanda. There are three anthropologically and culturally distinct elements which are quite sharply separated but exist side by side or one above the

563 other, and which in the course of centuries in this grouping have crystallized into a strong social and political community.

563 162 144 The great mass of the population consists of the agriculturalists, the Bahutu [Hutu], belonging to the Bantu race, more specifically to the so-called basic Bantu. In Urundi their number is approximately one and a half million. Above them, as the ruling caste, stands the Hamitic pastoral Batussi, who invaded Urundi from the north about 400 years ago and who, both here and in the entire interlacustrine region, subjugated the agricultural Bahutu. They are proud, tall figures, often over two meters in height, with sharp profiles and stately posture, so that at first they even impress the well-traveled European. According to official estimates, they number from 40,000 to 50,000 in the whole of Urundi. Besides these giants, the country also shelters the remnants of an original, short, pygmoid population, the Batwa [Twa], who lived here in the forests even before the Bantu and who, together with the forests, were partly destroyed, partly pushed back into remote corners by the other stronger elements. At present there are only a few thousand of them in Urundi and the same number in Ruanda. Their stature ranges mostly between 1.50 meters and 1.60 meters, but they are [463] strongly built and make a living as hunters, as blacksmiths and potters in the service of others, or as bodyguards of important people and of the king.

563 Undoubtedly the Batwa are the oldest stratum of population in the entire interlacustrine region. Dispersed in small tribal groups over the country, [7] they lack any kind of social cohesion; nor do they seem to have any traditions about their past. The [141] Urundi Batwa resemble the Batwa in the forests, but in Urundi they apparently have more Bantu blood in their veins. They are, therefore, somewhat taller and not as pure a type as the Batwa of Ruanda. Both in Urundi and Ruanda and in the northeastern Congo region, the Batwa are in the process of disappearing. Regarded as pariahs both by the Batussi and the Bahutu, they are everywhere treated badly but are at the same time thoroughly exploited. They always look profoundly melancholic and are

563 extremely suspicious; I have rarely seen a Mutwa ["mu-" is prefix for singular] laugh. They are an old, tired race of people, approaching extinction in the not too distant future. For this reason it is high time that the remnants of this people be methodically studied by an ethnological expert during an extended stay. This seems to me to be one of the most rewarding tasks to be accomplished in our East Africa which is so rich in ethnological problems.

The agricultural Bahutu, the main population of Urundi, [162] number approximately one and a half million and belong to the so-called basic Bantu of central East Africa, as also do the Wanjamwesi [Nyamwezi]. According to their traditions, they [173] came to Urundi from the east, that is, from the direction of the southern end of Lake Victoria and spread farther and farther west, clearing the forests. They speak almost the same Bantu [197] dialect as the inhabitants of Ruanda and those of Uha. Strangely enough, their conquerers, the Hamitic Batussi, and the tribe they subjugated, the Batwa, also speak only this Bantu dialect, while in the neighboring states to the east and north the entire population speaks Kinjoro ["Ki-" is a prefix indicating language], in certain parts also Kissumbwa. (Regarding the remnants of an older Kirundi dialect, see p. 148.) On the [144] other hand, in Urundi and Ruanda the Bantu have changed their ethnic and somatic character somewhat under the influence of [177] their Hamitic conquerors. These, the Batussi, have assumed within the few centuries of their conquest the language, dress (barkcloth), and many customs of the Bantu, but in exchange they have given them something of their blood, their type of dwelling (round huts), their big-horn cattle, and their political organization.

Nothing is known of the history of the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda in the period before the rule of the Batussi. Only in conjunction with their Batussi conquerors do the Bahutu step into the light of African history. From then on there exists a history of the Barundi, the political community consisting of Batussi nobility, Bahutu people, and Batwa pariahs (see p. 151 [not translated]).

164 Since then the Lake Barundi have not changed much as
165 regards their physical and mental constitution, but the individual tribes were struck by a terrible epidemic of sleeping sickness and were reduced to scarcely a third of their original numbers, so that in 1911 I found most of the formerly flourishing settlements deserted and laid waste. Fortunately the stinging
[136] fly, Glossina palpalis, which carries the infection, has not penetrated into cool, windy, upper Urundi, and it probably never will since it does not find favorable conditions there.

4. Mental Traits

000 At this point little will be said about the mental traits of the Barundi since they can be adequately inferred from the detailed descriptions of their life and of their material and intellectual culture which will follow. Therefore, I shall give only a few data about the disposition, temperament, and character of these three large population groups which differ so considerably from each other.

Of the Batwa, the more primitive, freer Forest Batwa
151 are also much freer mentally than those who have settled among the Bahutu and Batussi. Like all hunting tribes, they are characterized by their extraordinarily sharp senses, the superiority of which is very often experienced and still feared by the Bahutu as they advance against the forest in search of
● 563 arable land. As long as he can still hunt and live, freely roaming the forest, the Mutwa is very proud of his independence and looks with contempt upon the Muhutu wretched and bent low tilling his field, and also on the Village Mutwa living outside the forests who has to earn his living painfully either by working in the fields or as a potter or blacksmith. Toward
609 a European the Mutwa is in most cases, if not hostile, at any rate shy and ostensibly indolent, for even in peaceful intercourse he is afraid of the sorcery and formidable powers of the Whites.

563 [13] The Village Batwa are in all circumstances shy and
157 cringing as a result of their social position as pariahs, of which

563 they are reminded daily in living with the two other higher
157 classes of the population. Under this social pressure, their natural talent has been turned into cunning and craftiness. However, the Forest Batwa are quite proficient in these arts also.

563 Being shrewd and realizing their position fully, the Batwa are friendly toward the Batussi, whereas they regard the Bahutu agriculturalists who destroy the forest with fire and axe as the robbers of their freedom, and this is the case both in Ruanda and in Urundi. Just as in Ruanda King Musinga himself keeps an [644] entire settlement of Batwa at his court in Nyanza, preferring to entrust the protection of his person and the maintenance of order to these pariahs hostile to the Bahutu, so also in Urundi most of the Batwa are to be found near the residences of the chief where they find work and a livelihood in the service of the Batussi more easily than anywhere else except among the Bahutu. This is a symbiosis of the two numerically weaker population elements against the subjugated Bahutu, a people who number millions, within which both groups derive advantage.

The over-all character of the Barundi is provided by the large mass of the Bahutu, for although the Batussi are in fact the most striking members of the population because of their external appearance and their ruling position, they are too much in the minority, and in the majority of customs and external forms of culture they have assimilated with the Bahutu. Mentally, however, they are quite different from the Bahutu.

157 Like all Bantu, the Muhutu is by nature intelligent and has a lively, sanguine temperament. This original trait is apparent in Urundi and in Ruanda wherever the hand of the Batussi rulers does not weigh upon them too heavily, i.e., more so in Urundi where the rule of the Batussi has never been as despotic as in Ruanda, and, in Urundi, most of all in the northwestern region, independent of the kingdom, where the chief, Kilima, is himself a Bantu or of mixed blood (see pp. 162, 168, 188 [these pages not translated]), and also in the far south and in the lowland areas of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. The mental agility, loud speech and lively gestures of the Bahutu are nowhere as noticeable in Urundi as there in the

157 northwest. In spite of their impulsive behavior, the Bahutu are incapable of any strong exertion of will. They are conservative out of inertia and indifference, and for this reason they cling to the old, habitual concepts and customs. A marked tendency toward everything mystical and supernatural works in the same direction, in spite of the rough sensuality of their physical nature. Much good-naturedness is apparent in their social behavior to their equals and in their warm love for children.

In his contacts with others, whenever no higher class Mutussi is present, the Muhutu is cheerful, loud, and talkative, but in the presence of a Mutussi superior he is serious and reticent. When the Muhutu is able to relax, his imagination is active and is expressed in naïve boasting and bragging. He likes to cheat his fellow countrymen and foreigners and is liable to use physical force if he considers the other person weaker. [609] The European is sure to be told lies by him at first and to have him soon turn impertinent if he does not know how to command ●563 his respect. If the European manages this, as the Mutussi 157 always does, the boasting of the Muhutu soon turns into slavish docility and cowardice. This is also the case when he is confronted by serious danger, for example, in war, unless his fear of the Mutussi ruler [14] is even greater than his cowardice and forces him to commit acts which look like the result of great courage and self-imposed discipline. In reality the Bahutu of Urundi have become slaves in thought and desire, as a result of the four centuries of despotism by the Batussi, although theirs is not so slavish an attitude as that of the Banjaruanda [Ruanda] under their monarchic Hamitic rulers.

For the keen observer this enormous influence of the relatively small Batussi minority upon the large mass of the Bahutu is at first impossible to understand, for he soon realizes that the Batussi are by no means the ideal men they seemed to us to be from the first descriptions by Count von Götzen, Dr. Kandt, and others.

181 Richard Kandt says of the Batussi:

"If I analyze my feelings and state them honestly, I must say that I was impressed by them. Even now I have not lost this feeling although my mind rebels against it and although I have told myself hundreds of times that these people are, after all, barbarians far inferior to me intellectually. But it is of no avail! I have explained to myself the source of this feeling, so unusual to experience toward a colored person ... Apart from the gigantic stature, apart from the nobility of each movement and the dignity of their manner of speech, apart from the tasteful unobtrusive manner in which they dress, apart from their refined features and the calm penetrating, often even mocking and provocative eyes, apart from all this, there still is -- and here I hesitate and am unable to formulate the dim obscure feelings which hover in my imagination." (No. 22, p. 266.)

[564] This is a sentimental but a very understandable judgment. In actual fact the Batussi are a ruling caste, but not a ruling race in the ethical sense.

563 186 156 Gradually one discovers the secret of the tremendous superiority of the relatively few Batussi over the one and a half million Bahutu: they are greatly superior to them in intelligence, calmness, composure, cruelty, cunning, racial pride, solidarity, and political talent. What strikes one most about the individual Mutussi, apart from his imposing outward appearance which certainly must have made a great impression on the Muhutu from the beginning, is first his calm and what appears to be unconcerned reserve. In his contact with the restless, impulsive, thoughtless Muhutu, this has always been to his advantage.

[609] Further one is struck by the arrogance he displays even toward Europeans, by his abysmal mendacity and cowardice when faced with any disagreeable situation. The Mutussi regards himself and his kind as the crown of creation, as a paragon of cleverness and political skill. This is small wonder, for the inferiority of the relatively few tribes within his sphere of vision -- intentionally kept narrowly circumscribed -- and the fact that a Batussi minority rules the large Bahutu people were bound to increase his feeling

186 609 of importance beyond all measure. It is true that he fears the

The Mutussi never
181 works unless he belongs to the lower class, but he takes a sports-
[461] man-like interest in his cattle. Work is the concern of the sub-
jugated Bahutu and hence disgraceful to a Mutussi, and only
the really poor Batussi will stoop to it. To be rich and powerful
and to enjoy life in idleness is for him the essence of wisdom,
the ideal which he endeavors to achieve with the utmost
cunning and lack of scruple. It is everyone for himself, a maxim
which is also adhered to by the Batussi as a whole in their rela-
tions to the ruled people, the Bahutu and Batwa.

Naturally this life of pleasure, indulged in for hundreds of years, has done great harm to the character and manly virtues of the Batussi. That they were not without courage, warlike ability, and energy can be easily inferred from the fact that, although they are small in numbers now and doubtless even smaller at one time, they have conquered this large country. Witness also the early history of their royalty (see p. 162 [not translated]). For a long time now, however, they have had their internal and external battles fought for them by their bondsmen, their Bahutu vassals, while they keep themselves cautiously in the background and cunningly direct operations from a safe place. Of course, there are praiseworthy exceptions even here.

In spite of all this, it must be admitted that even in this respect the Barundi are on a higher level than the Banjaruanda. In Urundi the Batussi are not so pleasure-seeking, lazy, mendacious, violent, and cowardly as those in Ruanda, nor are the Bahutu so servile and hypocritical toward superiors and so insolent toward the weak as they are there, nor does the king along with the lords living at his court indulge to such a degree in idleness, revelry, intrigues, and the satisfaction of vicious and cruel instincts as does the one in Ruanda.

563 In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, it is above all the will
[556] to power and the desire for pleasure which have caused the ruling
Batussi to keep the greatest form of wealth, cattle, to themselves. By this means alone they have created for themselves an economic power over [16] the mass of the Bahutu which also provides the surest foundation for their political predominance
[754] (see pp. 41-42). In addition they have cleverly succeeded in

563 acquiring a reputation among the superstitious Bahutu of being
[754] great sorcerers and have made themselves greatly feared for this reason. Also, the priesthood works hand in hand with them to enslave and exploit the people (see p. 134). The exploita-
563 tion of the mass of the people and the crass egoism of the small
642 Batussi minority are made possible by the whole ingenious political system of both the Barundi and the Banjaruanda, with its strict legal separation of races and castes, with the rigidly graded system of vassals and supervising officials, the hierarchy of priests, privileged families, princes, etc. All this will be described in detail in later chapters of this book. The astonishing political acumen of the Batussi merely promotes the selfishness with which they exploit the subject Bahutu. There is no trace of any higher conception of the state.

563 For this reason it is natural that the Bahutu regard the
181 Batussi only as conquerors of a different tribe whose yoke weighs heavily on them. Yet, although they hate the Batussi, they make no effort to free themselves from their bondage for, like almost all Negro peoples, their nature necessitates subordination under a firm guiding hand. Moreover, their fear of the Batussi is so great that they would not hazard an open rebellion against them. Indeed, though few in numbers, the Batussi are vastly
563 superior to the Bahutu in intelligence and in the fact that a
186 solidarity exists among them which is constantly being renewed under the impulse of common interests. The Bahutu, on the other hand, are split up into a number of mutually warring clans and tribal groups, lack any sort of genuine national consciousness, and are being played off against each other in an ingenious manner by the Batussi.

000 As long as the Batussi are the rulers in the country, an intellectual and cultural revival of the Barundi people is impossible, for it is only the present depressed condition of the Bahutu, maintained through hundreds of years of seclusion, that guarantees the domination of the Batussi. For the time being, however, we Germans must collaborate with the Batussi and interest them materially in our projects in Urundi since we are still too weak to meet an open attack on their part. The goal of our long term colonial policy, however, must be to crush the

161 furnish more accurate figures. According to my own and other recent estimates, the figure of two million is too high; one and a half million is probably closer to the truth. However, a few missionaries, among them Father van der Burgt, have estimated even more than two million. [18] There are relatively fewer Batussi in Urundi than in Ruanda; they constitute hardly five per cent and probably only two or three per cent of the total population, i.e., 40,000-50,000 in Urundi. For them, too, van der Burgt assumes a much higher percentage: 15-20 per cent as against only five per cent for the Batwa. Apart from the mass of native Bahutu, there were in 1912-13 still about 2,500 other Negroes (Wasuaheli, Wanjamwesi, Manjema, and others) in the country, and, in addition, one or two dozen Arabs, two or three dozen Indians, and approximately five dozen Whites, half of them Germans and about 20 Frenchmen and Frenchwomen (missionaries).

162 563

On the whole Urundi and Uha are not by any means as densely populated as Ruanda which has 72 inhabitants per square kilometer. [Fig. 1 appears here in original text.] The official estimate for 1912-13 gives an average of 51 inhabitants per square kilometer for Urundi (or 68, if one puts the total population at two million). On the whole the density of population increases from east to west. In the west the valleys and the broad ridges of the peripheral mountains are most densely populated; hence they are almost entirely cleared of timber. There, there are an estimated 50 to 60 people per square kilometer or, in other words, a density of population approximately equal to that of Portugal. Any comparison with Germany with its 120 inhabitants per square kilometer would be inappropriate since the area of utilizable land is relatively much smaller in Urundi than in Germany due to the many swampy valleys and quartzite wastes. The most densely populated parts are the areas of granite, crystalline schist, mica schist, amphibolites, diabases, etc., which comprise the more elevated western portion of Urundi where the rainfall is higher and which form fertile residual soils. Of the less elevated, large slate and

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161 133

[Text continues on page 29]

224 leopards, the worst enemy of their small cattle. A heavy beam of wood weighted with stones is suspended within a narrow, low passage leading through a strong palisade fence; it is released when a string is touched and comes crashing down (Plate 24b). A goat is tied next to the narrow passage within the fence, and the leopard attempting to reach the bleating animal through the passageway is killed by the falling beam. All leopard skins [554] have to be surrendered to the king; he alone is entitled to dress himself and his relatives in aprons of leopard skin.

223 The Batwa are very adept at setting up snares (uschiwuka) with which they catch large birds and small mammals. They also are familiar with birdlime twigs which are used to capture small birds. They make a kind of sport of quietly sneaking up to birds sitting in the underbrush and then suddenly touching them with the twig so that the animal is caught in the glue. Their way of catching guinea fowl and francolins is also rather unusual. As soon as it is dark in the evening, the hunter carrying a glowing torch made of grass proceeds to the place on the steppe where he has tracked these scratchers. The birds approach the fire out of curiosity. As soon as the hunter notices a bird, he puts the torch down beside him, and carefully taking a circuitous route, he slinks up to the bird whose attention is directed to the torch and kills it with a blow of his stick. The meat of the slain [262] animals is, of course, eaten in all these cases. The Forest Batwa subsist mainly on what they hunt, and they are not fastidious.

226 Moreover, the Batwa of interior Urundi are the only ones who eat fish and engage in fishing (kuroba), while the Barundi [563] of the interior neither catch nor eat fish unless they have learned [262] to do so from missionaries or military officers. In contrast, the Barundi of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi are good fishermen and are passionately fond of fish. The Batwa fish mainly with a rod (igera) and only rarely with nets (urusenga), but the Barundi of the Tanganyika region use a whole series of different techniques for catching fish. The most common one, which is often engaged in on a large scale and yields the largest catch, is that of fishing by net from a boat at night. This yields almost

231 flies out with its queen, it is sprinkled with dust and water so it will not fly afield or will drop to the ground. The swarm of bees with its queen is then carefully swept into the tubes which are brought to it, the opening is closed, and the hive is suspended from a tree or a pole. The small entrance hole to the hive is then opened. All hives are suspended in a horizontal position. Of course, the whole procedure is usually not over before a few bee stings have been received, but the "bee-keepers" know quite well how to protect themselves by covering the whole body with barkcloth.

Gathering honey from the beehives later is a much simpler procedure. At night, when the bees are not flying, the back of the hive is opened, and a glowing wisp of straw which is smoking strongly is introduced, causing the bees to crowd together in the opposite corner. The honeycombs are cut out and then preserved in a pot (No. 19, p. 3). There are many different uses for the wax in the Barundi household. Since a demand for it has
439 developed in the markets, bee keeping has noticeably increased in the border regions accessible to trade. Undoubtedly it can and will find an even greater expansion once the country has been opened up to trade and there are more possibilities for marketing it. Even today wax and cattle hides are the most important trade products of Urundi.

2. Stock Farming

We often read that the economic life of the Barundi centers
231 around stock farming. This is not correct. The Barundi are,
● 563 first of all, agriculturists, like all Bantu Negroes, but stock farming is the chief occupation of the Hamitic ruling class, the Batussi, and it is only through their influence and in their service that many Bahutu are occupied in keeping and caring for livestock. By "livestock" we mean large domesticated animals, cattle (inka), for the Batussi hardly occupy themselves with smaller animals, goats and sheep. These latter animals had long been an element in the economy of the Bantu Negroes, that is, the Bahutu in this case, before the Batussi entered the country, and even today they are kept mainly by the Bahutu for their own consumption.

273 They usually obtain it[1] from the Bahutu by trading earthenware
[438] which they have made, although their women are quite adept at brewing beer. They also buy the bananas for it from the Bahutu since they themselves do not own any banana groves.
[563] The Batussi and the Bahutu often drink together but never in company with the Batwa. The latter may not even drink by themselves if a Muhutu or even a Mutussi is in the vicinity.

439 It hardly needs to be mentioned that in a country which is still not opened up to trade and commerce no imported alcohol or European spirits can be found.

276 Also, the smoking of hashish is unknown among the Barundi, although it is very popular among the neighboring Wanjamwesi and although hemp (urumogi) grows in certain districts of Urundi, even far into the interior (No. 19, p. 260). They are acquainted neither with the chewing of betel, which unfortunately has been introduced to large areas of East Africa by the Arabs and Indians, nor with any other stimulants except those mentioned above.

[63] Chapter 5

Games, Dances, Music

517 Like almost all other East African tribes, the children and adults of the Barundi are always ready for games (uwukini), dancing, and amusements. This is true above all of the Batussi who otherwise have nothing or little to do, but also it is true of the large majority of the Bahutu. Even the members of the depressed pariah class of the Batwa are ardent dancers.

857 Among the Batussi and the Bahutu many children partici-
524 pate in the games and dances of the adults. Here, as among most Negro tribes, children eight or nine years old are almost as mature as adults. Negro children, after they pass babyhood, never play with the same naïve absorption and gracefulness as our [European] children. There is a whole series of games especially for children and others especially for adults. "Playing

1 [i.e., the Batwa obtain beer. — Analyst]

804 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export
177 trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.

The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in
[436] Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika
433 [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is
[437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery
463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is
462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on
● 563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

323 Once the pot is finished, it is first dried in the sun and then baked. For this purpose a large number of pots already baked are placed on the ground with their openings downward to serve as a support upon which a number of corn or sorghum stalks are placed in a crisscross fashion. The new pots are put close together on top of this. Since firewood is seldom avail-
[372] able, dry grass is piled on them and set on fire. One keeps adding dry grass until the pots are thoroughly baked. At last the finished pots are picked out of the ashes and cooled by sprinkling water on them. The pieces of ash adhering to them are not removed, however, for they are proof that the pot has
• [563] not been used yet; no Murundi would ever buy a used pot from a Mutwa.

323 The Barundi and especially the Batwa make earthenware
415 vessels of different shapes and for different uses (Plate 48): small elongated pitchers with narrow necks for fetching and storing water and beer; large round or thick-bellied pots with a bigger opening for cooking; basins and bowls for drinking; bulging pots with conical lids for [79] storing butter; broad funnels for pour-
[276] ing liquids; and, in rare instances, also vessels with two open-
[782] ings and tobacco pipes with two bowls for votive purposes, like those found in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 452, and Fig. 11; No. 48, p. 318). Large three-legged pots are made only for religious rituals (p. 127).

323 Tobacco pipes (inkono j'itabi, injungu) deserve special
276 mention, although they play only a minor role among the Barundi people who are chiefly addicted to snuff. These pipes are made only by men and are much cleaner and more delicate than the other pottery products of the Barundi. Their basic shape is the same as in Ruanda, but individually they vary in form between pointed, funnel-shaped, and almost round bowls, depending on the whim of the producer or the customer (Plate 49).

415 None of the earthenware vessels of the Barundi has a flat
323 bottom or a handle; at best there is a raised edge for gripping.
439 Thus they always have to be supported by stones or placed into a hollow in the ground or into a ring formed of straw. It is true that in the Tanganyika district one may often see vessels with handles, beaks, or feet, but these are without exception products

2. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 In the families of those Barundi (Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa) who do not hold an office, the eldest son (or daughter) of the first wife is the secular and religious principal heir of the father. He inherits (kuraga) the largest share of the available family property, while the mother and the other children each receive equal shares of the remaining property. If the mother [429] is already dead and the children still small, the eldest son as the principal heir is expected to provide for them. If a 428 Murundi dies without children and leaves a widow, his brothers 768 divide his property among them, and the widow returns to her 587 family. However, a widow with children becomes the wife of the brother nearest to the deceased (levirate), and she and her children remain in the same house as before. The family stays together until the children are married and set up their own families (No. 19, p. 285). According to von Langenn, only sons receive the inheritance; they then support the mother and sisters. If there are no sons, either the widow or the daughters, as the case may be, are the heirs.

The eldest son also inherits the religious and professional 428 attributes and skills of his father. If the father was a priest 463 (kiranga), sorcerer, medicine man (umufumu), or blacksmith 868 (umususi), etc., the eldest son becomes -- or remains -- in the same position or profession by inheriting from his father the insignia and tools, in addition to the expert training. Thus, certain professions remain the prerogative of certain families. If the mother is an expert of some sort, she will pass on her skills to her eldest daughter.

428 If someone dies without leaving a family or relatives, the mutwale of the district in question inherits the property (No. 19, p. 568). Since no written laws of any sort exist, all law is 671 customary law, tradition, and usage. Every adult Murundi is 563 familiar with these customs, and if anybody infringes them, it is regarded as a punishable violation of the law. Even the king considers himself bound by them in his relations to the Batussi and only under exceptional circumstances [93] does he disregard

563 671 the law. The law of the land is, of course, a "master's law" which favors the Batussi in all respects. In contrast, the Bahutu as bondsmen enjoy few privileges, and the Batwa are almost entirely without rights. The Batussi batwale often commit grave violations of the law, especially in their dealings with the Bahutu and Batwa without, however, being held responsible for such infractions. It is only the fear of vendetta that puts a restraint on their arbitrariness.

577 As is the case among all primitive people, the ethical concepts of the Barundi regarding what is right and wrong are elusive. Questions aimed in this direction either remain unanswered or the reply is simply: "We do not know" or "the headman says so" or "our parents, superiors, the king wish it that way," and similar answers (No. 19, p. 381). One never hears that "conscience" prescribes certain actions or that the ghosts, the manes, or the gods wish it that way. Whatever is said on this subject has probably been suggested by the questioners, especially the missionaries. In contrast, concrete concepts of
671 law are much clearer. They are chiefly based on conditions of ownership and on social conditions, and they define something as right or wrong depending on whether it benefits or impairs these conditions which have become traditional.

423 As has been mentioned above (p. 91) the king is, in principle, the sole owner of the entire land and fields and of all the cattle in the country. As described above (p. 86), the batwale and the lesser district chiefs -- almost always Batussi -- hold larger or smaller portions of this royal property in feudal tenure, and they, in turn, parcel out smaller portions for the use of those Batussi who are not officials or for the use of the Bahutu. Whatever these latter produce from the fields and from the cattle belongs to them by law as their own property after they have paid their tribute to the feudal lords. The huts and the courtyard which the Murundi has set up on the plot of land left to him are also his property. However, he can be driven from his house and field, for example, if he fails to pay his tribute or if he has committed murder of theft and also if the feudal lord wishes to put someone else in his place, either a

563 554 The second important legal sphere is constituted by social conditions, but first, something about the social stratification. I shall reserve a separate chapter for the relationships within the clan and family (p. 98 , 106). As has already been mentioned, social stratification is determined by the three racial elements of which the Barundi people is composed: Hamitic Batussi, Bantu Bahutu, and the original indigenous population, the Batwa. By the law of conquest, the Batussi form the nobility; the Bahutu are those who are not free, or rather those whose rights are only conditional; and the Batwa are the helots who have no rights. If we disregard the Batwa pariahs, there is no separation of castes closed off from one another, although the priests (kiranga), the sorcerers and medicine men (abafumu), and partly also the religious brotherhoods (ababandwa) enjoy a privileged position on the basis of their magical powers which other persons lack. The professional craftsmen, especially the blacksmiths, also maintain a particularly respected position if they are Batussi or Bahutu, but this does not apply to Batwa. And, as is true everywhere, the [556] rich in Urundi enjoy more respect and influence than the poor.

In spite of the considerable difference in social and legal status and in spite of the arrogance of the Batussi, the latter associate with the Bahutu on a friendly basis in most cases, a relationship similar to that between a master and his useful, docile servant. Even if a Mutussi is a mutwale of the lowest rank or a petty feudal lord, the Muhutu will never forget that in his relations with the former he is dealing with a master. If he should ever forget this, he most certainly would be reminded of his inferior status in a manner which would not be pleasant for him, but the "better situated" Muhutu regards the ordinary non-propertied Mutussi as his equal. At times, although [582] only rarely, there are even marriages between Batussi and Bahutu, yet these are not considered as completely valid (see p. 101 , 169). It is also reported that, as in Ruanda, a Muhutu [557] may be promoted to the privileged class of the Batussi by an act of royal favor.

563 The Batwa, however, stand entirely apart from and below the others. They are not slaves who are forced to render services, but they are regarded as excluded from the society of the others, as outcasts whom the Batussi and the Bahutu despise and detest. They are considered animals, not human beings (No. 19, p. 541). The Batussi and Bahutu do indeed buy all kinds of handicraft products, especially pots, from them and also employ them as medicine men, musicians, and watchmen, but they never enter into closer relationships with them. (In Ruanda it is more likely that exceptions will be made, especially at the royal court.) A Mutussi or a Muhutu will never enter the hut of a Mutwa, he will never eat or drink with him, nor will he use a pot or a garment which has already been used by a Mutwa. [95] Only one thing is permitted: the [576] Mutwa may greet the Murundi and return his greeting although in a different manner than a Murundi would have done.

576 554 Depending on the social status of the person who tenders a greeting and the person greeted, there are considerable differences between the forms of greeting used among the Barundi. In all cases the greeting is tendered and returned with a certain amount of ceremonial politeness so much so that some observers maintain that greetings are a kind of religious act. Even the words of the stereotyped greeting often suggest a religious connection (see p. 46). It is perhaps for this reason, but even more likely because of the great innate or learned politeness of the Murundi, that each of them would consider it a serious insult if he were not greeted or if his greeting were not returned. Corresponding to the social stratification of the people, we may differentiate three large groups of greetings.

576 643 554 1. Greeting the king. The person greeting the king kneels down, bends toward him, claps his hands in his direction, and calls out: "uganse umwami" (command me, King) or "ugire umwami" (may you enjoy good health, King). The members of the royal family, the Baganwa, who for the most part rule the provinces as head chiefs, are greeted in a similar fashion.

554 576 2. Greeting the batwale who are not of royal blood and the lesser chiefs of communities. The person tendering the greeting bows

576 "ischo, scho, amascho"(cattle, cattle herd) are used frequently and signify that each wishes the other the greatest possible prosperity and happiness, namely, cattle. This is a very characteristic herdsmen's greeting which undoubtedly has been introduced by the Batussi (see p. 46).

431 [96] Giving and receiving presents (isimano, ingawano)
576 play a very important role in social intercourse. This also takes various forms depending on the social status of the donor and recipient and the event which occasioned the present. In Urundi it is an extremely frequent custom to give presents out of friendship, respect, politeness, or as a sign of submission. However, only rarely is the donor unmotivated by selfishness. In most cases he aims at receiving a present in return to which, according to custom, he is in fact entitled. If a present is given to the mutwale, the aim is to secure his favor in official decisions. To discontinue exchanging presents is regarded as a sign of hostility, the rejection of a present is considered a serious insult. The gift to be presented, whether it consists of field produce, pots of honey, goats, jugs of beer, or something else, is placed at the feet of the recipient. At the same time the donor never fails to taste a little of the food presented in order to show that it is neither poisoned nor bewitched. Then the donor makes a solemn speech assuring the other person of his affection and respect and asking him to return these friendly feelings; finally he openly requests a nice return present. This is what custom demands. The recipient of the gift replies in the same solemn manner and in the end promises a return present or has it brought immediately. At the sight of the present the other person frequently breaks into shouts of joy or begins a wild dance. Custom also requires that a little portion of the present be returned at once to the donor. This, of course, considerably facilitates the giving of presents (No. 19, p. 87). The Batwa among themselves also practice these customs connected with the giving of present, but to their Barundi chiefs they may only present pots, iron tools, weapons, tobacco pipes, or firewood, and, under no circumstances, beer, honey, or other foodstuffs since a Murundi would never eat food given to him by a pariah.

[563]

614 patriarchate, by patrilineal succession; each child belongs to the clan (umurjango) of its father from the day of its birth. Strangers may join the clan only in exceptional cases, but they do not enjoy full privileges. The greater the number of male members of the kin group, the stronger the clan is in its internal and external functions, the better will it protect and benefit the individual. This accounts for the fervent wish of each father of a family to have as many sons as possible and to bring them into his clan.

Marriages between the members of the same clan are forbidden. A clan member may choose his wife only from another clan. Strict exogamy is thus the rule. C. Meinhof traces the origin of this custom, which is particularly pronounced among the African Hamitic herdsmen, back to the fact that originally the wife belonged not just to a single man but rather to the whole kin group, to all clan associates of the man in common. In other words, the whole of the man's clan married the woman, and for this reason she had to be from another clan (No. 41, p. 84). Clear remnants of this kind of group marriage still persist among many of these Hamitic tribes and also among the Massai; it is customary for a husband to put his wife at the disposal of any clan member during the time of the latter's visit. [101] Also, the married wives are so easily accessible to the men of their clan that prostitution is almost nonexistent among these tribes. The concept of adultery is meaningful only with regard to illicit intercourse outside the clan. To a limited degree this is also true of the exogamous marriages of the Barundi (see p. 107). A member of a Batussi clan never enters into a completely valid marriage with a member of a Bahutu or a Batwa clan, and there never occur wholly valid mixed marriages between members of Bahutu and Batwa clans. The racial distinctions among the three large population groups are stronger than the rules regarding exogamy. It is true that Batussi may frequently be found in Bahutu clans and Bahutu in Batussi clans, but these are either offspring from concubinage with Bahutu women or from other liaisons with inferiors through special circumstances, and they are not regarded as fully valid clan members.

563 614

614 themselves together with members of the Baschama clan (totem
784 Klipdas or of the Bagessera clan (totem water wagtail), they
262 avoid physical contact with them and are not allowed to take their meals with them. The same is true in Rúanda. Moreover, the general prohibition against the Batussi eating with the Bahutu and the Batwa and against the Bahutu eating with the Batwa has totemistic bases aside from the racially determined caste spirit, if only because some Bahutu and Batwa occasionally eat goat meat and mutton which the Batussi abhor. Both in Urundi and Ruanda these totemistic food taboos do not affect the children (No. 48, p. 240), but women are bound by them.

614 B. Ankermann does not commit himself on the question
174 of the age and origin of totemism in Africa, but he suggests
●563 that the Hamites might be regarded as the carriers of totemism. In many tribes a nontotemistic lower class is ruled by a totemistic -- and Hamitic -- upper class. In Urundi and Ruanda both the lower class, the Bantu (Bahutu), and the ruling Hamitic upper class, the Batussi, are totemistic. Even the pygmoid indigenous inhabitants, the Batwa, are organized into totemistic, exogamous clans. For this reason and for others having to do with the fact that totemic culture is everywhere manifestly very ancient, I should prefer (as regards the Barundi and Banjaruanda) to subscribe to the view which Ankermann considers more probable, namely that the original Negroes from whom the Sudan Negroes and the Bantu originate, were totemistic (No. 49, pp. 176-178), and that where totemistic Negroes are ruled over by totemistic Hamites, as in Urundi and Ruanda, the Hamites have blended their own totemism which they brought with them with that of the conquered, just as they must have blended their own clan organization with that of the conquered Bantu (see p. 100).

614 In the internal organization and life of the clan the
621 strong feeling of solidarity among its members is evidenced above all by the considerable degree of communalism.

585 As soon as they have been delivered, the bride follows the matchmaker to the newly-built hut of the bridegroom. There the wedding is duly celebrated; the family members give presents to each other, eat and drink, and dance. Through her marriage the wife becomes part of the husband's family (patriarchate). On her wedding day the bride is expected to feign great sorrow; she covers her head with a veil, and the bridegroom must try to assuage her grief by giving her presents. For seven days the young couple remain unseen in their hut, but even on the following days the wife covers her head with a veil whenever she goes out of the house (No. 4, p. 222; No. 19, p. 359).

Great value is placed on the bride's virginity. If the sleeping mat of the young wife shows traces of blood after the wedding night, the young husband gratefully sends this proof to his wife's parents and adds a hoe as a present.

582 There are quite a number of obstacles to marriage. Above all lineal and collateral blood relatives, members of the same clan or of the same totem group, are not allowed to marry each other; exogamy is the supreme rule (see p. 160).

582 563 Even among the Batwa of Urundi marriage between close relatives is not permitted. Marriage between a Muhutu and a Mutussi woman is not permitted, or it is possible only by royal permission in exceptional cases. The racial pride of the Batussi repudiate such a union. Even where toleration is the 836 rule, sexual intercourse between unmarried members of the same race is probably rare since Barundi mothers keep a watchful eye on their adolescent daughters. It may safely be said that the Barundi do not permit pre-marital freedom on principle.

837 684 The husband expects marital fidelity, unless he purposely surrenders his wife to a clan member. In contrast, the husband is not so strict about his own fidelity. It is true that adultery committed in secret is not punished by law as a case of theft, although in fact it is regarded as such by the Barundi. However, the deceived husband is entitled to kill the guilty parties in flagrante delicto (No. 19, p. 14). In most cases he contents

595 afford it lives in polygamy in order to have workers to manage his property and to maintain his social position, in order to be able to associate with one wife when the other one is unapproachable during confinement, and for other reasons which are mainly of a practical and economic [109] nature rather than erotic. Thus, many Batussi have two wives, the bigger chiefs three or more, and the king has an entire harem. The Batwa, however, are almost all monogamous because of their poverty (No. 19, p. 447).

There is a widespread custom among the Bahima of Ankole and Kisiba whereby several brothers who are too poor to afford a wife individually pool their resources and buy one wife between them; the children belong to the oldest brother (No. 27, p. 105). This custom of polyandry is apparently very rare in Urundi.
[837] However, brothers of a family are often excessively intimate with their brothers' wives.

In Urundi each wife has her hut and her household in a separate kraal. Among prosperous Batussi two wives seldom live within the confines of one enclosure. Usually their houses are a long way from each other, whenever possible on different mountains. The husband is alternately the guest of one or the other. In polygamous families the wife by the first marriage is
[428] the head wife, and in matters of inheritance her children take precedence over other wives' children. In addition to regular marriages, concubinage with women of a lower social class exists.
[428] The concubine (umukeba, umugensi), although recognized socially, may be dismissed at any time and she and her children
[563] have no right of inheritance. Since Bahima wives are not very
[842] fecund, many Batussi men take Bahutu women, who are much more fecund, as concubines in order to increase the number of children in the household. This often happens in other Bahima states, and the consequence is that many Bantu in this area have a strong admixture of Bahima blood (No. 17, p. 631). Marriage
[583] on a temporary or trial basis is unknown among the Barundi;
548 marriages are, after all, contracted and dissolved so easily that such provisional unions are unnecessary.

796 members of the fraternity may participate. The fraternity
794 of the ababandwa admits for religious purposes men, women,
575 Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa whenever they seem suitable (that is, if they are able to pay the high cost of admission and have influence). This fraternity is also of great social importance in
794 these lands where deep cleavages divide the society as a re-
575 sult of the three-fold racial division into Batussi, Bahutu, and
569 Batwa, the contrasts between the conquering caste and the subjugated group, and the rigid clan organization. In contrast to these distinctions, the order of the ababandwa, who are united in the Riangombe and Kiranga cult, acts as a social equalizer by protecting and promoting its members regardless of the race, caste, or clan they belong to.

There is another group of persons who maintain close
756 relations with the world of the spirits and are endowed with
791 supernatural powers by them: the sorcerers, medicine men, magicians, who might all be described by the collective term abafumu (sing., umufumu). This is a Bantu word which is also used in Unjamwesi. It describes someone who uses magical remedies and amulets (No. 19, p. 461). The abafumu are medical practitioners who attempt to ward off misfortune and disease by using supernatural powers and remedies since, after all, every ailment or accident is due to the supernatural influence of evil spirits (see "Medicine," p. 140).

Without doubt the umufumu is the most powerful person
756 in his community. Very often he is more powerful than the king's official, the mutwale. "He is, at the same time, physician and apothecary, conjurer, counselor and priest, a beloved friend of the family, and a universal helper in need. It is his privilege to discover the designs which Imana and Kiranga [130] and his companions have concerning the destiny of poor, ordinary mortals. The eyes of the umufumu are sharper and better penetrate the veil of the supernatural, to him the invisible god reveals his wishes, he is his favorite and mediator .... The modern European regards all phenomena as natural and uses natural techniques to control them; the Murundi, on the other hand, regards everything except water and grass as a manifestation of the supernatural which must be treated

482 this would result in this person's or his father's death. A child
784 who my mistake sits on the pad will stop growing unless it spits on the pillow so as to ward off evil (No. 19, p. 553). Most probably the underlying reasons for this fear are totemistic conceptions.

3. Missions

797 The extreme pride of caste and race of the Batussi is the main reason the work of Christian missions has had little success
● 563 in Urundi. Teachings about the brotherhood of all Christians require the Mutussi to regard himself as the equal of his "slave," the Bahutu, or even to associate in a brotherly manner with the [139] despised pariahs, the Batwa. The Mutussi bluntly rejects these ideas outright, not for religious but for social reasons, and it is obvious that every Mutussi will prohibit the Bahutu over whom he rules to join a religious community whose teachings aim at leveling the deep social chasm on which the political rule of the Batussi over the large mass of the Bahutu is based.
797 Among the Bahutu the missionaries are opposed by strong and persistent enemies: the priests (kiranga), medicine men (abafumu), and the members of secret religious societies (for example, the ababandwa), who control the spiritual and emotional life of their countrymen and whose connections and organizations form a network over the entire land. Although
797 Christian missionaries have been active for more than 30 years
735 in the country, their work is still limited mainly to the poor
737 and destitute who have no contact with their own people. Van
888 der Burgt writes: "Most of those who come to the missions are starving persons during the frequent hunger epidemics and decrepit old men and women who have been cast out by their families. It would be easy to fill an old people's home with hundreds of inmates within a few weeks, for many of them are drowned by their families in the nearest river. Cattle are much dearer to the heart of the Murundi than are his aged relatives" No. 23, 1905, p. 178). As to the rest the rest there are only very few Barundi who have become Christians from inner conviction.

800 *Urundi Administration* 1925—and Bishop (?) Gorju in several works dealing with Urundi, where he has been Vicar Apostolic. It lies N.E. of Tang. lake, 2 to 4 degrees S. of the Equator.

Ethnical conditions

●563 The Urundi as well as the two neighbouring sultanates of Ruanda and Buha consist of three ethnical groups: (1) the tall, fine-featured, cattle-grazing Batutsi, of Hamitic stock, who constitute a ruling class of some fifty thousand; (2) the middle-sized, rough-featured, land-tilling Bahutu, the largest and main body of a population of over one and a half million; (3) the Pygmy hunting and pot-making Batwa, a mere handful of some thousands of outcasts.

I am reasonably satisfied that these three ethnical groups mix together more than one is generally inclined to believe: they rather seem to become social strata. At any rate there are impoverished Batutsi who till the land, Bahutu who possess cattle, and landless Batwa are not a frequent occurrence to-day. Many impoverished Batutsi have been considered as Bahutu, rich Bahutu as Batutsi. The reasons and theory I brought home were elaborated by Dr. Gerkens and seem to prove that each of the groups is of mingled stock.

Geographical conditions

133 The Urundi is a high country. The region between mountain to the west and the steppe to the east is a plateau, 5,000 feet high, often more, and almost completely without ligneous vegetation, except in the near proximity of habitations. Rivers and brooks have dug themselves deep into this plateau and their valleys have made it a country of more or less important hills, each of them with its own name. The bottom of the valleys is covered with swamps where papyrus grows unchecked (for native agriculture had not been successful there). The stony, grassy hill-tops are merely meadow-land. The cultivated belt [311] normally spreads on the hill-side, with the fenced cabins of the land-tillers in the middle of fields and banana-plantations. Only persons of rank dwell in the higher region.

311 Typical of Urundi scenery as seen from a favourable observation point are the three belts running along one another: below, the ashy green of the papyrus; above, brownish stones and light-coloured grass, sometimes with the rugo of a chief or of his deputy; in between the deep shining green of the banana-trees. [161] Though the population often reaches 350 per square mile, the habitations of most land-tillers remain invisible amidst the banana-trees where they are hidden, and only at the time when meals are prepared does the peacefully ascending smoke betray their presence there.

[P. 13 (A)]

178 changes completely. Speculation is gaining ground.
177 Certain cultures are spreading rapidly (cassava, which
[241] grows all the year round and so excludes the threat of famine ; coffee which yields a profit in cash, and helps to pay the tax-collector).

178 Finally, some house-groups have appeared of a type,
177 closer perhaps to town than to village, in the neigh-
361 bourhood of *bomas* (colonial administration centres)
563 or markets. Their inhabitants it is true are mostly foreigners : Belgian officials, European traders (Greeks), Hindus and Arabs, *baswahili* (Islamized negroes). It remains however that they are an entirely new feature in a country with such a widely dispersed population.

Conclusions

361 I thought I could draw your attention to some
571 details of the curious Urundi organization : a dense population, widely dispersed over the cultivable and habitable land according to the geographic possibilities, without any orientation centres (the few habitations of the chiefs cannot be said to produce anything like demographic concentration) ; the small part played by neighbourhood relations, the predominance of intricate, but personal ties, creating man-to-man dependance, or in other words the primacy of the vertical over the horizontal relationships.

Such an organization was possible in a country almost completely closed to foreign influence, without either markets or money, with a hierarchical structure and must be related to conditions both ethnographical and geographical. This organization is
[177 giving way under the influence of European ad-
178] ministration, of the development of trade, and of a new economy based more and more upon monetary transactions.

[p. 16 (8)]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

distinguished among its peoples: pastoralist Batutsi[1] (about 10 per cent. of the population), agriculturalist Bahutu (about 85 per cent.), and Batwa, hunters and potters (about 5 per cent.).

Man and the Material World

The world in which men are placed and which they know through their senses was created *ex nihilo* by *Imana*. The Ruanda word *kurema* means to produce, to make. It is here rendered 'to create' because our informants say that there was nothing before *Imana* made the world. This belief concerning the origin of the material world is universal and clear. To any question on this point, the answer is ready.

The Banyarwanda assert that we do not see the whole of the material world which was created at that time. The world of our experience is flat; its limits are far away and made of fences like the ones we see around kraals. On these fences there is a big rock which is the sky we see. Beyond the rock there is another world (*ijuru*) similar to our own, with hills, trees, and rivers. This world may be said to be heavenly only in the sense that it is above the sky: it is not a paradise but rather a richer duplicate of our world. Under the soil on which we tread there is yet another world (*ikuzimu*) also conceived as similar to our own. There is nothing infernal about it. The material universe is thus a kind of three-storied construction. It is not impossible to go from one floor to another: some people and animals came from the world above to the intermediate world and, according to some legends, one man at least went to the lower world.

In our world the moon and the stars (which are kinds of glow-worms) stay high up in the sky. The sun rises in the morning and in the evening reaches the end of the world where a powerful man kills it and cuts it into pieces. Then he throws the main bone across the vault of heaven to the East where it grows up and the following morning the same process begins again.

In essentials our world was created as we see it now, but there have been some changes in the course of its history. Some hills were raised up by the kings of Ruanda; the formation of Kivu Lake is accounted for in different folk-tales. Cattle, which rank so high in the Ruanda scale of values, also made a special appearance on the intermediate world. The stories give more than one version of their origin but they agree on their arrival in a world already constituted and inhabited by men. According to some tales, creatures did not originally have the same bodily form as they have now. It is said, for instance, that horns were given to animals after they had been created.

This, and a belief that the world is now slowly degenerating, getting old (people's stature is decreasing, cows give less milk), suggest that the Ruanda conception of the universe is not a wholly static one. The world does not remain the same, it is in process of evolution. However, when direct

[1] In this paper, following the common use, we have kept the prefixes of the Ruanda words, such as *mu* for the singular and *ba* for the plural.

133 These two torrents have their source in the southwestern part of Ruanda. Their headwaters flow impetuously on a bed littered with rocks and pebbles.

Among the many subsidiaries of the Nyabarongo, let us mention in alphabetic order: the Base, Mukungwa (which comes out of Lake Ruhondo), Nyabugogo, which serves as an outlet for Lake Mohazi, etc.

The Akanyaru, whose basin is less extensive, also originates in the southwest and combines its waters with those of the Nyabarongo at the level of theBugessera. /28/

After they join, these two rivers change their name to Kagera (1). Under this new name they enter the Victoria into which they

[103] 1. Kagera. This word comes from the verb kugera, "to deepen."

The Kagera slowly wanders through the plain, and its lazy waters overflow

[136] into large ponds and marshes infested with crocodiles and mosquitoes.

pour their yellow waters loaded with silt.

Lake Kivu receives only a small part of the waters of Ruanda. Its outlet is the Ruzizi River, which flows into /Lake/ Tanganyika after a tumultuous course of about 120 kilometers.

131 Ruanda, whose surface may be estimated at 30, 000 to 35, 000
161 square kilometers boasts a population that is believed to reach two million souls.

It is made up of three quite distinct ethnic groups: the Batutsi,
● 563 or Hamites, the Bahutu of the Bantu group, and the Batwa, or Negrillos (Pygmies).

141 The Batutsi, who are thought to be of Egyptian or Abyssinian origin, (2) are tall in stature. Some measure as much as 2 or even

ooo 2. From an ethnological point of view the physical appearance of the Ethiopian people is an exception in

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not ex-
142 ceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to
147 cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the
551 Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as Mutwa, Gatwa, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the
757 names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is
826

1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets.
789 The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ikimo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

144

2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks. Not only are they, on the average,

142

142 lighter in color and smaller in size than most Negroes, but in addition they are differentiated from them by a number of other physical characteristics, notably a greater disproportion in the relative size of head, trunk, and limbs. Scientists refuse to call them 'dwarfs,' a term applying to exceptional individuals within a given race and not to a race as a whole. They reject the term 'pygmies,' which stands in our minds for extreme smallness of stature as an essential and predominant characteristic, [141] while the men in question, although rarely taller than 1.55 meters, usually do not stand less than 1.40 meters tall. They were given the name of 'Negrillos'." (Maurice Delafosse, Les Noirs de l'Afrique /The Black Peoples of Africa/, p. 8.)

563 first and foremost a herding people. When they have neither hills nor villages to administer, they apply themselves almost exclusively to pastoral occupations.

233 This is their favorite vocation. /31/ Cows mean more to them
556 than anything else. A large herd of cattle is a badge of honor and a
181 sign of wealth. In all truth it may be said that they have an adoration, a passion for cattle. They think and talk of nothing but steers and cows. Their dream, therefore, is to own as many of them as possible. In agreement with the axiom stating that "the lips speak of what is dearest to the heart," they have invented a salutation to express this secret desire of their hearts.

576 Amashyo!, that is to say, "May thou come to own a large number of herds!" says the worthier man. The other replies, Amashongore!, "May you come to own many cows!"

233 In the course of time they have managed to spread around them this fever for owning cattle. Any Muhutu /singular of Bahutu/ considers himself fortunate if he comes to own a cow. One wonders if it might not be the Batutsi who brought cattle into Ruanda. It is certain that their beeves are distinguished from the others by the length of their horns, which sometimes measure up to one meter, and that they are quite similar to the cows drawn on Egyptian monuments.

The hypothesis according to which the Batutsi originated in the land of the Pharaohs does not fail to take this fact into account.

One must agree that the Batutsi know a lot about raising cattle. They are familiar with a good number of its diseases and the treatment they require. When one sees the care they give to their cows, one is tempted to believe that they have retained some of the religious veneration which their possible ancestors lavished on the Apis bull.

They cannot bear to see their animals mishandled. Rather than kill one, they will let a sick beast fall to the ground, or a senile one die a natural death.

237 The dung of these animals, which trained servants collect every morning, is carefully deposited by hand outside the ficus-tree [351] enclosure and in time forms an odorous forewall around a large and frequently swept square. /32/ Even their urine is used to rinse the [356] wooden vessels in which milk is stored. Needless to say that in contact with the acid the white liquid acquires a flavor which is not to everyone's taste and turns sour within a short time.

241 The Bahutu are cultivators first and foremost. They make up the bulk of the population, at least eight tenths of it. While the ● 563 Batutsi, who subsist exclusively on the raising of cattle, settle near 361 pastures, preferably on the highlands, on plateaus, and at the edge of the forest, the Bahutu settle in places where it is possible to cultivate the land, especially in the midst of their banana groves when they own some.

258 water, which overflows into a jar, carrying with it a few more or less
263 soluble particles of this sooty dust. The liquid is preserved. The cooks pour a little into the cooking pot at every meal. Some families subsist on this humble vocation and trade with water which is not salted but which has an ashy taste.

Salt was indeed rare before the arrival of the Europeans. The great Batutsi chiefs were about the only ones able to obtain it.

This salt, collected by the Blacks in the marshes of Lake Edward, contained an amount of earth and sand at least equal to half its volume. It sold nevertheless for a very high price at native markets.

The salt from the Gottorp plant (not far from Kigoma) is now used by all social strata. It is highly valued by the Banyarwanda, who call it ulugera, a substantive derived from the verb kugera, which means "to penetrate," because, as they say, it goes all the way down to their stomachs thanks to its high quality and its tart and pungent flavor. One understands why formerly the Blacks, when deprived of salt, would seek out bitter herbs and sour fruits. Red pepper and
[241] chives, which were imported fairly recently, have for this reason been a great success among the Blacks, who cultivate them in small plots near their huts. It is probably for the same reason that children show almost as much fondness for lemons as for oranges. /34/ A few years after the eruption referred to as that of the Ntsuro (December, 1911 and January, 1912), when the natives were able to approach the volcano safely, they began collecting salt mixed with large quantities of earth. The inhabitants of nearby villages spend most of their time collecting the indispensable substance. In order to rid the salt of its
[415] impurities, people melt it in large wooden troughs full of water, which are called imivule or imizinga. The liquid is then removed to other troughs where it is exposed to the sun. The most skillful and enterprising workers allow the water to boil until it evaporates completely. The markets which are held north of Kivu are supplied with this salt, which sells as high as that of Gottorp in spite of its poor quality. It is less white, contains impurities, and always remains damp.

241 The Batwa, or Negrillos, do not farm much. They look down
461 on field work.
● 563

224 inkezi, and monkeys (1), whose flesh they eat. This makes them

[825]

1. Only the chimpanzee (impndu) and the gorilla (ingagi) escape the cooking pot because, as the Pygmies say with a shade of malice, "they were formerly our peers (ngo n'abatwa bachu) and only with time have they degenerated and turned into animals (ngo zahinduts' inyamaswa)!"

[783]

most "impure" in the eyes of the others. They handle bows and wooden [411] arrows with great skill. Although they are always on the watch for game, they cannot derive all their subsistance from it. The plants and wild roots of the forest are not sufficient either. In former times, [579] they used to hold for ransom those travelers who had the temerity to cross their domain, and they raided the Bahutu fields. Now that 463 European authorities have put an end to these acts of pillage, they have found new sources of revenues in the making of ropes, baskets, and bows, which they sell in the villages or take to market. One may no longer say of the Negrillos of Ruanda that they are still at the "*gathering stage.*" *They have been beyond it for an indeterminate* period of time.

563 The great Batutsi chiefs like to have a few Batwa around them 696 and use them chiefly as litter bearers. Many of them live at the capital where they are used in various capacities as guards and watchmen. Executioners are recruited among them. They like to exercise this function, for they keep the victims' remains.

It must be added that they showed unequaled cruelty in the exercise of this horrible function. The screams of the victims aroused no pity in them. European penetration has fortunately put an end to this dismal vocation.

224 The Negrillos live in very primitive huts made of branches, [342] /36/ which do not provide complete protection against the inclemency of the seasons or wild animals. The latter do not usually arouse much fear in them, since they are familiar with their habits and lairs.

½[i.e., the eating of various meats by the Batwa. -Aug/s.]

224 They climb trees like squirrels to escape danger or to be on the lookout.
[48] They may spend a week or even two without returning home when tracking game, especially if an elephant is at stake. The wooded area is their domain. They know its thickets and crannies, and they track animals everywhere, stealthily through thorns and scrub, without ever running the risk of getting lost.

361 Pygmies live in groups of six or seven families scattered through
423 the forest, which they have divided up like family property by settling their respective boundaries so as not to get in each other's way.

578 Hunting in a forbidden zone or even in a contested one has given rise to more than one bloody quarrel among brothers and friends.

There are hardly 15 of such groups of Negrillo hunters, who would find it hard to subsist if meat were their only food.

311 Willfully set fires for clearing purposes which have impoverished the forested land, as well as new political conditions which are gradually transforming the society, contribute to the dwindling of their food resources.

Soon, therefore, we may see the last representatives of those woodsmen join their other compatriots, the potters scattered through the Bahutu villages, or else start farming as some of them are already doing.

563 The Batwa live as a group apart. They do not mix with the Bahutu and much less with the Batutsi. They are a despised caste.

631 Ruanda was not politically united from the beginning. In the following pages we shall see that it was parceled /37/ into a considerable number of tiny kingdoms and small independent principalities. The lands inhabited for the longest time seem to have been the Ndorwa, Buganza, Gissaka, and Bugessera in the northeast, the Nduga and Munyambiriri in the center, and the Bwana-Mkali in the southeast. The areas located in the northwest, the Mulera, Bugoyi, Bgisha, Kanage, etc., were slowly won over the forest and settled by people who came from neighboring regions.

642 Politically, Ruanda is an absolute monarchy.

The Banyarwanda belong to the type of society that is "more stratified, characterized by the establishment of a centralized power whose automatically binding warrants are transmitted to the humblest

[i.e., the Batwa. - Analyst]

614 Abasinga, Abagessera, Abasiete, etc. /46/

2. Bahutu Ethnic Group

a) Oldest clans:
Ababanda, Abagessera, Abazigaba, Abangura, Abasinga, Abatchaba or Abiru, etc.

b) Secondary or recent clans:
Abambari, Abalevu, Abalindwa, Abatabo, Abahindi, Abakora, Abahigo, Abahuma, Abatembe, Abaziko, Abashobyo, Abondo, Abanyunjo, Abajongo, Abachira, Abakwa, Abanyoni, Abungura, Abalimba, etc.

3. Batwa Ethnic Group

563 They borrow their designations from the Bahutu for most of
614 their clans. Although of Bahutu origin, the Bayovu are linked to the Batwa race. They are regarded as a degenerate group because, like the Negrillos, they eat animals considered impure and make pottery.

In spite of their more or less artificial division into tribes, the Pygmies actually regard themselves from a social point of view as part of one single group called Batwa. They practice what we call solidarity among themselves.

If one of them is killed, the whole group feels injured and
[5mm] rises to avenge him. A Mutwa /sing. of Batwa/ who travels is everywhere offered hospitality by his "brothers," even if they do not know him.

421 Property rights exist among the Banyarwanda. They are well defined by custom and tradition, notwithstanding temporary injustices and the discretionary powers of the king and of the chiefs. Everyone recognizes those rights and accepts them in principle. No one fails to exercise them or claim them.

They are taken into account in legal proceedings.

Daughters do not inherit but are taken care of by their brothers
421 until the day they marry. /47/

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drawn to the beauty of the fair stranger. The king was notified. She was the girl he had been waiting for. As a reward, the wagtail was granted a permanent privilege to its species called ubulenga nzira, which included immunity and a sort of tithe to be levied upon the crops throughout the realm.

near the hill of Lwoga, not far from Nyanza, the present capital.

563 The Bagessera regard themselves as the most important Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan, and claim to be the most ancient inhabitants of Ruanda. According to them, they were the first masters of the land. /462/

Bloody Bondage Imposed on Some Families

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178 The Bakono, Banyabyinshi, and Bakunzi of the Kinyaga were for a long time the victims of this /type of bondage/.

Let us add, however, that the brutality and cruelty characteristic of those inhuman and now suppressed customs had lost some of their primitive harshness in the course of the last two reigns.

1. The expiatory debt to which the Bakono were bound for having fought Ruganzu II had been changed altogether.

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178 Upon the accession of a new king to the throne, the Bakono had to send one or two of their people to the capital, and so did another clan which had formerly belonged to the Banyabyinshi group, so often mentioned at the beginning of the great king's reign.

At court, instead of having their throats slit as was formerly done, those people were merely sprinkled with lustral water (chalk water) and driven for an instant into the hut of the spirits as though being offered in sacrifice to them. There the matter rested. Other chroniclers state that it was customary to beat them a few times with

178 643 782 The Blacks insist that the custom was not followed when the present king ascended the throne in 1896. The bloody events which took place at that time caused it to be overlooked.

It is not certain either that the Bakunzi, or people from Bukunzi, lent themselves to this custom willingly, considering its odiousness and the independence they were beginning to show in their dealings with the Hamitic king.

Privileges and Favors at Court

661 644 In the course of this work, there has been frequent mention of exemptions, franchises, and immunities granted to individuals or families. The reader is advised to look into Fondation du Royaume hamite /Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom/ and Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II (History of the Reign of Ruganzu II) /Books II and III, not translated/, in order to familiarize himself with the subject.

He will find there the approximate time when those rights were granted and the reasons for their existence, and he will be surprised to encounter instances of regional autonomy.

We shall speak here only of certain favors or /466/ privileges of a special character, granted for a specific period of time or even permanently.

Elevation to noble rank falls into the second of these categories.

1. Elevation to Noble Rank

563 644 554 565 The Batwa, as we said earlier, are a caste despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

It is regarded as a dishonor not only to contract matrimonial unions with them, but also in making them commensal. There have been exceptions to this type of ostracism, however. In reviewing the past, one finds some Batwa who were raised to noble rank and placed on the same level as the Batutsi.

Others gained practical nobility in the course of time.

The best-known example is that of the Mutwa /singular of Batwa/ Busiete, to whom Yuhi III Gahindiro gave his own daughter Mulangamirwa in marriage as a reward for his devotion and services.

563 The descendants of this couple created the Basiete clan. They still
644 exercise great influence at court, and they possess numerous territories
554 (fees).
565 This event was not unprecedented, for the Hamitic kings, while maintaining the social distinctions with which we are already familiar, frequently made use of this device to reward highly deserving commoners.

This was the rule until quite recently.

Listed among the Bahutu who were admitted into the Batutsi caste and who contracted matrimonial alliances with them are the chief of the "cursers" (abahẽnyi) clan, Agakwande, and the descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo. The latter form a closed clan known by the name of Abosha, and rank at court as sacrificer-diviners.

554 The keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), or abanyori, from
565 Mpanda village have likewise been raised to noble rank, and so has /467/ Bunyereri, the commander of the "Invincible" (Intalindwa) army.

The same was done to a number of foreigners from the Uswi, Bunyabungu, and other adjacent regions.

Innumerable men in the king's service (abanyagikali, abanyanzoga, etc.) were raised by his favor to noble rank and granted
[527] the government of some province or village. Prisoners of war who had earned the confidence of their conquerors also rose to the ranks of the Batutsi. Chief Lusera, who was carried off from the Nkole region at a very young age in the course of an expedition, was brought up by King Lwabugiri, who later gave him the village of Gitongati in the Nduga and his own daughter Kalungerwa in marriage.

The Badiga clan owes its nobility to a curious event in which
173 the Hamitic kings had no direct part.
558 The ancestor of this tribe, a man named Bidiga, was of the
563 Mutwa /Batwa/ race, and his parents, Sabulegeya and Rwiru, had come originally from the Bufundu province. They had moved to the village of Gahogo in the Nduga. Bidiga, their son, became a potter like his father. During a famine, on a day of torrential rain, a

173 Mututsi /Batutsi/ woman named Nyirandoba sought shelter in Bidiga's
558 hut without being aware of his social status. The potter gallantly
563 offered some food to the hunger-stricken lady.

Nyirandoba accepted eagerly. Meanwhile the sky had cleared and the woman, her hunger satisfied, took leave of her host after thanking him very kindly.

As she walked away, she heard a voice inviting Bidiga to take advantage of the improvement in the weather and go into the swamp to fetch some clay. Nyirandoba realized her mistake. She was forever dishonored. Everyone /468/ would know that she, a Mututsi woman, had entered the hut of a Mutwa and had taken food from the hand of a pariah.

Henceforth, no one in her own caste would be willing to associate with her.

Bidiga, who understood her uneasiness and misgivings, came to her aid and offered to marry her. The noble lady, very happy with the solution, became Bidiga's wife.

Not far from them there lived a Batutsi clan named Babambanganzi, who were in charge of one of the court herds known by the name of "black cows" (inka z'imikara, inkuke z'ibgami). Those people, who had no reasons to complain about Bidiga's proximity, made him their cowherd and put him in charge of the royal herd. Bidiga and his family gradually established close contact with the Hamites and contracted marriages with them which placed them in due course among the Batutsi ranks (1).

1. In view of all this, we can understand why the Hamitic type has lost its original purity to a greater or lesser extent in some of the clans belonging to this ethnic group. We may also add that the poorer Batutsi often take Bahutu wives.

[122] Chapter 6

Population Elements

563 The population of Ruanda is made up of three elements which anthropologically and culturally are very different, although they speak the same language.

The ruling group are the Batutsi [Tussi] herdsman who are anthropologically quite close to the Bahima [Hima] of Mpororo. There is a great gap between them and their subjects.

The Bahutu [Hutu] farmers make up the bulk of the population.

The Batwa [Twa], an outcast hunting tribe who also engage in rainmaking and pottery, form the third element.

197 Batutsi. The language of the Batutsi is identical with that of their Bahutu subjects except for certain phonetic dialect differences as yet unexplained by scholars. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, as well as the Bahima, must be linked with the Nilotic-Hamitic pastoral tribes on the eastern edge of the Nile Basin as well as those on the bank of the Nile to the south of the great Nile swamps. The Batutsi form the main part of an older migrating group which was wedged in between Lake Victoria and the forests of the Congo Basin. The Bari and their relatives probably broke out later in a northwesterly direction towards the Uele Basin. The Massai [Masai] group apparently poured into the regions to the east of Lake Victoria.

101 174

197 If we consider the word "Hamite" as a purely linguistic designation, the Batutsi are not Hamites at all, and even less Semites, as they are called by Rehse (1) and Kandt (2). They simply belong

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1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1900), p. 110.

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili [The Head of the Nile] (Berlin, 1904), p. 339.

the interlacustrine group of the Bantu language family.

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this. It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations, they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom
[826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them. Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like
[302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid butter.

609 During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127]
186 expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offensive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous movements and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more similar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi, are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the remark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they have in common with their donkeys.

[626] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[582] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with
●563 them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu, who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

181 military virtues. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the rule
563 of the Batutsi minority. We are obliged to assume either that
after the formation of the large states the herdsmen enjoyed an era of peace long enough to cause such a far-reaching psychic re-orientation or that the privileged position of the Batutsi is the result of intellectual superiority.

563 The present power of the Batutsi is due to the clever way in
[578] which they play the Bahutu off against each other. The Bahutu are powerless against outsiders because of their internal feuds. In contrast, the Batutsi always present a solid front and defeat them because of their superior internal organization. The Bahutu, therefore, regard them as great magicians and are very much afraid of them.

Dr. Hans Meyer gives the following account of the conditions in the southern regions:

"In Urundi and in Uha the Watussi are much less prominent in public affairs and in dealings with Europeans than they are in Ruanda. You see few of them in the villages, often only one in every community, namely, the mtuale [official] of the chief who lives away from the main roads. Their domination over the Wahutu is by no means as great as in Ruanda." (1)

[113]

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 355.

[162] [128] The Batutsi make up barely a tenth of the population of Ruanda. Their number is greater in Kissaka and Nduga, but in the northwest there are probably less than 120,000. The Batutsi
[163] are said to be less fertile than the Bahutu. Whether their lower infant mortality compensates for this I do not know.

The Mututsi is by nature entirely different from the Muhutu, even if one disregards the obvious anthropological differences. He
[481] moves differently and carries his spear in an entirely different
563 fashion, grasping the end of the lower eighth of the weapon and
191 leaning it against his shoulder. His accent in speaking is also

563 entirely different. In fact, with a little practice, one can recog-
191 nize members of the herdsman aristocracy by their pronunciation. This leads one to believe that the pronunciation of the Batutsi has special phonetic characteristics which may throw light on their former idiom.

563 Bahutu. The difference between the Batutsi and their subjects is so great that by comparison all local differences in individual provinces disappear, and the country seems a homogeneous whole. The herdsmen in the minority are the most conspicuous because of their privileged position. They are closely united and give the entire country its homogeneous stamp.

Numerically the Batwa are so weak and so little in evidence that even in the west where there are more of them, they are not conspicuous. Also local differences are not apparent. Consequently territorial differentiation in the country is manifest chiefly in the second population element, the Bahutu farmers.

563 They make up the conservative element which supports the
178 entire edifice of the state and ensures the stability of the established order. However, they have little capability for independently organizing large states. They do, however, maintain the established forms and even preserve the traditions of a vanquished political organization. Indeed, traces of former conditions are found where individual provinces have given up their independent political existence and have been absorbed into a highly centralized state.
[184] The Bahutu of the individual provinces show important differences
[101] and are themselves aware of these. Thus, when they speak of the Bagoye, Balera, and Banyanduga, they always mean the Bahutu. It is only in Kissaka that the term Banyakissaka stands for the inhabitants in general, and here memories of the state that united Bahutu and Batutsi are still very much alive. We must also not
[101] overlook the fact that the Bahutu of Bgisha in the southern part of Rutshuru call themselves Barundu or Barondo. For this reason it seems to me that the names of the countries of Urundi and Ruanda should be associated with the Bahutu substratum living there.

563 [129] The Bahutu are essentially more heterogeneous than
142 the Batutsi, although throughout the country they have many common traits. They are strikingly different from the herdsman aristocracy

563 in their smaller stature, their squarer build, and their shorter legs.
142 The contrast is strongest in Mulera and Bugoye where the Bahutu gradually show transitions to the Bantu of the Congo forest. In central Ruanda the Bahutu show a not inconsiderable Batutsi influence. Here their features are more regular and more finely chiseled, their bodies not so stocky, and their heads longer. It is probable,
[144] therefore, that the Muhutu owes the characteristics which distinguish him from the Bantu of the Congo forest chiefly to the "Hamitic" influence of the Batutsi. However, we must not lose sight of the possibility of a concurrent Nilotic influence which is so striking among the Massai and Bari.

167 Emigrants from the Congo state have played an important
101 role in the settlement of Mulera and Bugoye. Dr. Kandt (1) uses

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 290.

the name Bakiga (Wakiga) for the immigrants. He translates it as "inhabitant of Pori." My inquiry revealed that "Bakiga" is the general term for the inhabitants of mountains, in contrast to "Banyamuyaga," the inhabitants of plains. On his surveyor's
103 sketch of the map of Mpororo, Lieutenant Schwarz calls the country southwest of Buischingato (Luizigatu) "Rukiga." This was formerly called Ndorwa, since it is mountainous. The region southwest of Nyundo is also called Rukiga. Father P. Barthelèmy, who knows the country and is versed in the language, believes that the name of the Rugege Forest in the southeastern part of Kivu is derived from Rukiga.

167 The immigrants from the Congo are closely related to the
101 Banyaruanda. On the Belgian map (2) the inhabitants of the

[113] 2. Carte de l'État Indépendant du Congo [Map of the Independent Congo State]. Scale 1:100,000. Lith. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1907.

western edge of the graben [Rift Valley] are designated simply as

167 101 Barundi [Rundi]. Bashi or Bahunde are the terms the Bagoye use in referring to the people from Bunyabungu, Itambi, Buyungu, Kishari, Butundwe, and even Bgisha, with whom they can easily make themselves understood. The first designation supposedly [194] alludes to the sibilants which are so prominent in their dialect. In their culture the Bashi also show many similarities with the Congo Bantu. Thus, the anthropological and cultural transition to the Forest Bantu takes place within the Kirundi language area. The similarity of the Bahutu who were not influenced by the Batutsi to the Forest Bantu argues in favor of the view that the population of Ruanda is the result of a metamorphosis caused by contact with the Batutsi.

●563 144 [130] Batwa. The Batwa comprise the third element in the population of Ruanda. They stand out because of their relatively small stature. The contrast between them and the very tall Batutsi is so striking that the altogether erroneous identification of Batwa with Pygmies has gained credence even among such an outstanding expert on the country as Dr. Kandt. (1) I have taken a great many

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 303.

measurements, and I am forced to conclude that this assumption is not valid. I agree with Lieutenant Von Parisch (2) who found that

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2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda, 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

the Batwa were only slightly shorter than the Bahutu.

Prof. Hans Meyer (3) made the same observation. He says:

3. Travel Reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 349.

563 144 "The Batwa at Musinga's court and in the Issawi region, as well as those in northwestern Urundi, are not very different from the Wahutu, and there is doubtless considerable blood relationship." Baumann (4) goes still farther and maintains that the Batwa

4. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle (Berlin, 1894), p. 215.

are no smaller than the Barundi.

The latter opinion is also erroneous. Anthropological analysis (5) proved that the Batwa do have a Pygmy element as

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5. Czekanowski, J., "Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen der zentral-afrikanischen Pygmäen [Aspects of Kinship of the Pygmies of Central Africa]," Korrespondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1910, pp. 101-109.

one of their components. Although other, subsequent mixtures have lessened the importance of this element, nevertheless it accounts for many characteristic features of the Batwa.

The Batwa are strikingly similar to the Forest Bantu and stand midway between the latter and the Bahutu. This conclusion, unexpected at first glance, is simply explained if we assume that the more isolated Batwa were less open to outside influences and that anthropologically they are relicts of an older order in Ruanda. If we assume that formerly the population of Ruanda was more closely related to the Forest Bantu, then the Batwa, from whom we may learn about former conditions, must also be similar to the Forest Bantu. This is, in fact, the case. Apart from their anthropological relationship, the Batwa are also said to resemble the Forest Bantu in a very characteristic custom. They are cannibals, at least in northwestern Ruanda among the western group of volcanoes. Nonconflicting rumors about this custom have been reported by both Count Von Götzen (6) and Von Parisch (7).

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6. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch

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Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 233.

7. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[131] My research has led me to the same conclusion. The Pygmies of the Ituri Forest are not cannibals, as is well known. This is the chief difference between them and all their neighbors.

411 Like the Forest Bantu the Batwa are said to put traps and poisoned thorns on their paths and to guard them with poisoned hand darts. They also use a bow with a rattan string. Otherwise the Batwa differ very little from the Banyaruanda in their material culture. I shall speak of this in more detail later.

197 Whether the Batwa have their own language must be left as an open question. The Kitwa ["Ki-," a prefix indicating a language] words collected by Father J. Van der Burgt (1) are

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1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Eléments d'une Grammaire Kirundi [Elements of a Kirundi Grammar]. Supplement. Langue des Watwa (kitwa)-Pygmées [The Language of the Watwa Pygmies, Kitwa]. Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 1902, Section III, Afrikanische Studien [African Studies], pp. 79-108.

familiar in Ruanda and are said to belong to an archaic local dialect of Kirundi.

194 Father L. Classe (2) points out that the Batwa have difficulty

2. Classe, Father L., Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 414.

194 pronouncing 's' and that their speech is more aspirated. However, I noticed this not only among the Batwa but also among the
197 true Pygmies on the Ituri. Father Classe says that their language seems to be midway between Kigwe (Kissukuma), Runyambo, Ruziba, and Luganda. In other words, it is a dialect of the interlacustrine group.

Father P. Barthelémy told me that the Batwa who accompanied him on his trip up the volcano spoke an idiom among themselves which was unfamiliar to him. He could not say whether this was a northern dialect similar to Ruhunde or a separate language.

563 Although everyone finds it disgusting to eat with a Mutwa,
186 the latter despises the Muhutu who must till his field and go about his daily chores with a bent back. The free Mutwa hunter from the forest in turn despises the Batwa living in the villages whose chief occupation is pottery. He calls them, scornfully, banyamikenke, "sons of the grass". (3)

3. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

563 The Forest Mutwa is very proud of his unrestricted way of
674 life and his independence. He regards the forest as his property in which he has completely free rein, and he feels that the robbing of intruders who cross the forest borders is his sacred right. He defends his forest from intruders just as the Muhutu does his fields.

Even the Bahutu acknowledge this right of the Batwa to a certain extent. They allow themselves to be robbed in the primeval forest without offering the least resistance, for they maintain that without [132] the consent of the Batwa they would not even get out of the forest. This is quite possible, since the hunters are so well oriented in the forest that they could find ample opportunity to ambush and shoot their victims.

563 Despite these advantages, the Batwa's struggle against the
311 encroaching Bahutu is completely hopeless. The dreaded hunters are being pushed back everywhere by the farmers. With the

563 311 destruction of the forest their independence is at an end, and they become pariahs.

When guerrilla warfare can no longer stem the flood of farmers driven toward the forest because of the land shortage, there is nothing left for the Batwa but to complain of the new state of affairs. This is the story with which Kahima greeted me when I paid him a visit with Father L. Delmas. Originally Kahima's Batwa lived in the primeval forest, but constant clearing had so shifted the forest border that eight huts were already outside the forest, while the rest were still scattered within it. The Batwa, however, do not yet till their own fields. At most their women help the Bahutu in the fields and obtain food in payment.

563 [311] In Ruanda one does, however, find cases where Batwa turn to agriculture out of dire necessity. Thus, in the vicinity of Ruasa there is a Mutwa rainmaker who is a leper. When his trade became less profitable because of the growing missionary influence, he began tilling a field. In one respect, however, he remained a true Mutwa: he was unable to keep any small livestock; in no time it had all been killed and eaten.

The relationship between the Forest Batwa and the Banyaruanda is the same as that between the Pygmies and the full-sized Negroes. Each Batwa group recognizes a Ruanda chief as its head, to whom they bring the yield from hunting in exchange for agricultural produce. This vassal relationship existed between Kahima and Chuma.

We must, however, point out a difference. The Batwa acknowledge the sovereignty of the ruler of Ruanda. From time to time they bring the king presents. These are presented to the king through the mediation of their Muhutu patron, Chuma, who is said to be the king's client (mugaragu).

Anthropologically, the contrast between Batutsi and Batwa is even greater than between the farmers and the herdsman aristocracy, but even so we cannot overlook the strong political solidarity of the privileged and the pariahs. If a Mututsi sacrifices sheep, the Mutwa eats the meat. When he slaughters anything, he does not forget the Mutwa. Between these two minority elements there is

563 always an understanding, and they often live side by side. In spite of all their prejudices, they [133] are obliged to stick together in order to assert themselves against the farmers who are a large majority in the country.

361 621 There are far fewer Batwa than Batutsi. The extensive nature of their livelihood makes a concentrated Batwa population impossible. Larger, purely Batwa settlements are to be found only in the primeval forest and in Nyanza near Musinga. Otherwise the Batwa are widely scattered amidst the Bahutu population.

I am acquainted with the following Batwa groups:

1. Batwa under Kahima of Kazu. Kahima is the subordinate of the Muhutu, Chuma, who lives three hours south of Nyundo. Together with his petty subchief, Sebuleza, he has under him up to 150 Batwa, including women and children.

2. Batwa under Ngunzu. Ngunzu is subordinate to the Muhutu chief, Mutubula. His village is situated on a mountain near Kahama and can be seen from the third forest clearing on the way from Ruasa to Kisenyi. This group is said to be at least as strong as the other, even though one can see only seven huts from the road.

3. Batwa under Lukara are settled on the pass between Muhawura and Mgahinga. They are probably not much fewer in number. From Lukara's kraal we could see only two or three Batwa huts, and Lukara brought me only a dozen adults to be measured, but the fact that they had to be driven out of Belgian territory by military force shows that there must be a larger number. Mgahinga owes the name "Kirunga ya Batwa" to them.

4. Batwa of Mikeno. Dr. Kandt (1) visited this group. He

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1894), pp. 300, 301, 304.

mentions two groups of huts. The first has two huts; the second is four hours distant and contains six to eight huts. The latter are situated around a clearing. There are from 15 to 20 Batwa here.

614 842 Since the groups involved in this arrangement are small and conditions simple and clear, no one can forget that the welfare of the individual is directly dependent on the welfare of the clan. Hence everyone is very much concerned that the clan appear powerful to the outside world. It must be as large as possible and always ready for war. No effort must be spared,to achieve this; otherwise the members of the clan have no protection against plunder, impoverishment, and even complete extinction. The man as well as the woman must be considered from this point of view, and producing children is, therefore, the most important duty of the individual. This explains the completely unenviable position of the childless woman. For the same reason, sons whose descendants will augment the number of clan members are preferred to a daughter, even though one can always trade her for a cow.

614 563 The importance of the clan's strength and fighting fitness, even today in Bugoye, was convincingly demonstrated to me by the fate of my Muhutu informant's father. Several years ago their clan was scattered by advancing Batutsi. Only his father remained on the old clan property, along with the [234] children and his uncle. Since there were only a few men in both families and they were too weak to defend themselves, the Batutsi simply settled on the land and indulged in all kinds of suppressive measures against the weaker farmers. At the time of my visit, for example, they took away a whole hut and carried it to their settlement, instead of building a new one for themselves.

614 628 Every individual is under the protection of the clan. This makes it possible for a person to lead a more or less secure existence. Clan organization represents a sort of social guarantee which is directed primarily against the misdeeds of fellow tribesmen who do not belong to the clan.

614 627 Moreover, the clan exercises control over its members, and, if serious offenses are committed by individuals who endanger the interests of the clan, they can even be exiled.

614 627 428 The clan may also interfere in family matters and, above all, in disputes about inheritances. Although the father can dispose of his property as he sees fit, nevertheless his decisions presuppose the tacit approval of the clan. If the interests of the clan are

614 as unclean and detest being in close contact with each other,
262 chiefly because it disgusts them.

Besides the food taboos of individual clans, referred to [in the table] on pages 149 through 154 as abaziru, there are also general food taboos practiced by larger groups of clans, which even separate different elements of the population from one another. These more universal taboos are added to those of individual clans.

563 The Bahutu cannot eat with the Batwa because the latter do
262 not respect any taboos and even eat chickens and eggs. The
178 Mututsi, in turn, may not eat with the Bahutu because the latter eat the meat of goats and sheep. This taboo, it seems, is on the decline. The taboo on goat's meat is no longer strictly adhered to. The following explanation is given. The present ruler, Juhi Musinga, was ousted by his father, Lwabugiri, when he was a child and was reared by a Muhutu. In the house of this man he became accustomed to eating goat's meat, and so he has revoked the restriction. The situation is a little different with regard to mutton. The Bahutu of Mulera eat it, whereas the Bahutu of the south do so only secretly, if at all, perhaps because they have been affected by the more influential Batutsi and deny themselves mutton so as not to be regarded as unclean.

262 The most disgusting food for the Batutsi and Bahutu, as well
609 as for all the other inhabitants of the interlacustrine region with the exception of the Batwa, is chicken and, above all, eggs. For this reason Europeans and their black personnel, who in this respect resemble Batwa, are despised. Our Banyaruanda porters refused not only to eat with the Wassukuma porters, but also to use the pots which were put at their disposal. Concerning this taboo, the
[71] Batutsi and Bahutu are similar to the Galla, Somal, Wakamba [Kamba], Wataita [Teita], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], and Wadjagga, that is to say, the Hamites and the Bantu who were metamorphosed by them. (1)

1. Hildebrandt, J. M., "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn [Ethnographic Notes on the Wakamba and their

It is said that atonement for killing an umuziru is made by special ceremonies, and the willful slaying of an umuziru by an outsider can even call forth revenge on the part of the clan.

Marriage Prohibitions. Clan organization also affects the individual in the matter of marriage prohibitions. Members of the same clan may not marry each other. The clan is strictly exogamous. It seems, however, that among the Batutsi there are still traces of an earlier endogamy. For example, in their legend about Kigwa, the first ruler of Ruanda, they say that all Bafutsi are descendants of a sister and brother, Nyina Batutsi and Kigwa.

[242] Exogamy in Ruanda is an important factor in social integration. In Mulera, where the old clan organization has been best preserved, the act of contracting marriage consists of the exchange of a woman for a cow. Thus, two different clans come to have a common interest. One clan is helped by a direct increase of its man power. The other, in turn, strives to increase its wealth and possessions. This union, furthermore, necessitates mutual consideration in other matters and thus promotes the social life of larger groups of people.

In contrast to the exogamy of individual clans, there is an absence of valid mixed marriages between Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa. The social and anthropological contrast between these elements of the population is much sharper and more striking than the contrast between Bahima and Bahiru in the Runyoro language area, and since there one can distinguish between Bahima and Bahiru clans, it is all the more surprising that there are Bahutu in most of the clans of Ruanda. Upon investigation we found that in many cases Batutsi and Bahutu had the same clan names, and in less than half the cases observed could we find special Batutsi clans which did not have Bahutu members.

The appearance of Batutsi clan names among the Bahutu can probably be traced to the following two reasons. First, the descendants of slaves, of baja, belong to their father's clan, but, in spite of Batutsi fathers, they are no longer counted among the Batutsi. Thus, there are Bahutu families that trace their origin to Ruanda rulers. Secondly, impoverished Batutsi marry Bahutu women, which rapidly adds to the number of impoverished Bahutu,

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even though a child of a Mututsi by his legal Muhutu wife is de jure a Mututsi. Such children are, however, because of their mothers, robbed of all such connections, and this accelerates their absorption by the Bahutu.

Similarly, however, there are cases where prominent Bahutu, if they occupy the position of chief, are absorbed into the Batutsi through mixed marriages. This was the case, for example, with the Barashi chief, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, from the Muhawura volcano. This probably explains how "Batutsi" happen to belong to the clans of Bazigaba, Basinga, Bagessera, and Basita.

Mixed marriages between Batutsi men and Bahutu women are more common than those between Bahutu men and Batutsi women. There are said to be no mixed marriages with Batwa. This aversion [197] persists even in Christian communities, and I even heard that the only baptized Mutwa in a Christian congregation could not find a wife.

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[243] Blood Brotherhood. In speaking of exogamy, we mentioned it as the primary factor in the social integration of a society that is split up by mutually warring clans. We shall now discuss the second factor, namely, the institution of blood brotherhood.

In Mulera, if you wish to show someone that you value his friendship, you go to him to replenish your fire. To make the friendship secure, however, you must join with him in the pact of blood brotherhood (kunywana).

Simple friendship is very sharply distinguished in Ruanda from the social institution of blood brotherhood. The word for friendship is kwuzulu which literally means "filled" or "full." People are regarded as friends who "are saturated with one another," and who must therefore be considerate of each other.

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There are friends on all levels of the social system, but it seems that the institution of blood brotherhood in Ruanda is connected with the undifferentiated clan organization of the north. This is doubtless due to the fact that in regions like Nduga, for example, where the chief's power is well organized, the individual can count on a certain measure of protection from the representatives of the state, but in regions where the entire country

572 608 614 178 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship between blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

572 608 In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

572 608 582 Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously observed. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as related. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied; but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

572 608 837 According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 608 563 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the Batwa.

614 621 The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.

somewhat different. The most important personality after the chief is his brother. He represents him in all matters. Both of them have their houses in the individual villages in which they live during their journeys. The son ranks just below the brother of his father and is granted a village after he has grown up. He is not entitled to gifts in the other villages of his father, and only if he has [267] no uncle does he get an uncle's rank. In spite of this preference, the brother of the chief is not his heir; all his possessions go to the son after the burial of the father.

Below the kissonga are the quite unimportant subchiefs who supervise the communities on the separate hills. Among them there are everywhere, especially in Bugoye, many Bahutu, whereas the higher positions are almost always held by Batutsi. It is only in Mulera and Bgisha that one sees Bahutu also occupying the highest positions.

The Bahutu officials are very much praised by their superiors, for no one can be more merciless and servile than an upstart who is hated by his clansmen. This characterization does not, of course, apply to the clan elders who occupy this position in the free farm communities. The subchiefs are the only cattle-owning Bahutu outside of Mulera, Bgisha, and Bugoye.

There is no doubt that with the extensive interweaving of property belonging to individual high chiefs (in this respect the whole country resembles a village with a community system of planting [Flurzwang]) an influential stratum is created which has vital interests in the most diverse parts of the country. This counteracts the centrifugal, particularistic tendencies of the individual provinces.

These conditions seem to be the result of a conscious aim on the part of the crown. In this direction much seems to have been accomplished by Lwabugiri Kigeri, the father of the present ruler, Musinga. Kigeri is reputed to have centralized the state and partitioned, scattered, and interwoven the holdings of the chiefs in order to destroy the centrifugal tendencies of the feudal lords. This involved him in bitter struggles with the lords, among them his brother-in-law, Kabare, but he managed to crown his efforts with success.

794 them. This is of very great importance, especially in cases of
515 illness, for illness is, of course, caused by the spirits. That is
782 why sick people are often initiated into the secret societies of
753 babandwa. Sometimes this is done when they are already so ill that they are not quite conscious during the ceremonies, but the hope is that through the initiation the sick person will gain such a powerful protector that the latter will make possible the recovery of the new member. Despite these expectations, people do not omit the sacrifices to the manes of the sick person in order to receive their favor.

794 The existence of the [secret] society divides the population
515 into two classes: the consecrated and the profane. The consecrated ones, in turn, are divided into two subgroups, the babandwa who conduct the ceremonies and the rusingo, ordinary initiates of the lower grade. This creates a hierarchy in which discipline is exercised through fear of the supernatural power of the chosen ones. Hence the secret societies are powerful factors in social integration.

The hierarchy of secret societies does not correspond to the territorial division into chieftainships and exogamous clans. It creates dependencies that bridge these divisions, and the social structure is strengthened by the addition of these "supernatural powers."

794 It would be futile to speculate whether the states of the
515 interlacustrine region could exist without secret societies. It is
●563 very probable, however, that the rule of the Batutsi and Bahima minorities is contingent on the organization of these societies. The ruling element seems to be disproportionately stronger among the babandwa, whose sons inherit their rank, than among the rest of the population, probably because the Ryangombe cult was allegedly a Batutsi cult originally. This view was expressed to me repeatedly in one way or another by missionaries and natives. It is supported by Rehse (1) who says that Ryangombe is regarded

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1910), p. 134.

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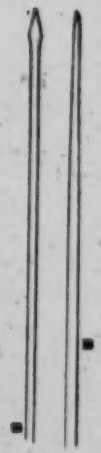

in Kiziba as a Bahima spirit. This is confirmed by the fact that during the initiation ceremonies the female representative of Ryangombe [307] drinks only millet beer. This points to the steppes northeast of the Victoria-Nile from whence, according to tradition, the Batutsi-Bahima once immigrated.

The relationship of the secret cult with the Batutsi stratum is most vividly characterized by the fact that in Kissaka, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, there are many Christians who are Bahutu, but almost none who are Batutsi. The superior social organization of the country makes possible the spread of Christianity. This is also demonstrated by the many Bahutu converts. Among the Batutsi, however, Christianity collides with another well-organized cult which can nullify its progress.

Father Paul Loupias represents the view that the Ryangombe cult is a Bahutu cult. In support of this theory he mentions [443] that a king's son consecrated to Ryangombe, for example, Ishirangabo, the brother of Musinga, loses the right to become king.

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The conception of the kingdom of dead souls and the great power of Ryangombe, whose name one does not dare pronounce without trembling and to whom only the consecrated may offer sacrifices, is in sharp contrast to the idea of the spirits of dead ancestors who remain in intimate contact with the living Bahutu, who live with them, are fed and cared for by them. This contrast permits the assumption that we have here a mixture of very different ideas. Without doubt we are confronted here in the field of religion with the difference between two cultures which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

[778] Fig. 163. Biheko Iron Rods from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13770 and III E13727. Length, 130 and 111 centimeters.)

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

orography of the country). They are due to the conjunction of these physical circumstances with the particular way in which the human occupation of the land has taken place.

2. HUMAN OCCUPATION

Several hypotheses have been advanced in attempts to reconstruct the history of the human occupations of Ruanda. We are not concerned with them here. Let us summarize only those features which are of significance for our purpose and which have a high degree of probability.

The present population of Ruanda is clearly composed of three groups: Twa, Hutu, and Tutsi. These groups are very unequal numerically. In the middle of 1956, according to a Government demographic survey, the Twa constituted 0·67 per cent. of the total Ruanda population, the Hutu 82·74 per cent., and the Tutsi 16·59 per cent.[5] Differences that are immediately noticeable between these groups concern their activities, their social statuses, and their physical types. The Twa are hunters, potters and iron-workers. Twa hunters are not numerous, as game is rare in most parts of Ruanda owing to the scarcity of forest. Some of them make a living as singers, dancers, and buffoons. The Hutu are agriculturists and the Tutsi pastoralists. The statuses of the three groups are hierarchically ranked. The Tutsi group constitutes an aristocracy, the Hutu are commoners, and the Twa are said, half jokingly, by most of the other Ruanda, to be more akin to monkeys than to human beings. A definite physical appearance is considered typical of each group. According to the socially accepted descriptions of the three stereotypes the typical Twa is short, pygmoid rather than pigmy, with a head low in the crown, face and nose flat, cheek-bones prominent, forehead bulging, eyes narrow and slightly oblique. Hutu characteristics are woolly hair, flat broad nose, thick lips often everted, and middle stature. Tutsi are very slender and tall. They often have a straight nose and a light brown skin colour. The objective measurements of Professor Jean Hiernaux do not entirely coincide with these stereotypes.[6]

[5] These figures have been kindly communicated by Mr. J. Revelard who was at that time in charge of the Ruanda-Urundi Demographic Surveys (Endemoru).

[6] Hiernaux, 1956b, pp. 34-53. Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 122-34. See the interesting photographs in Czekanowski, 1911, plates 1-61 and in Hiernaux, 1956b, plates VI-VII.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

tilapia. Fishermen sell it mainly to foreigners: Congolese, Europeans, etc., but they themselves eat it very rarely.

Agriculture was the principal Hutu occupation. The Tutsi considered this kind of manual work below their dignity and the Twa preferred other tasks. Cultivators used the hoe (*isuka*) and a kind of bill-hook (*umuhoro*) as their main agricultural implements.[19] The main cultivated plants were beans and peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize. Besides these basic foodstuffs, there was also a garden cultivation of other plants used to complement the main dishes or to make them more tasty. These were pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, yams, tomatoes, shallots, and red peppers. Around the huts there were groves of bananas, which were widely used as food as well as in banana-beer.

The yearly calendar of agricultural activities was as follows.

Long rainy season

October. There were usually a few rainy days in September. In October the rains began and were not expected to be very abundant. Soil was prepared for the sowing period which began later in the month. Beans, peas, maize, pumpkins, eleusine, and groundnuts were sown or planted. Banana trees were pricked out.

November. Sowing went on. Because of the rains it was possible to plant sweet potatoes and cassava even on hill-tops. Bean fields were weeded.

December. New plots to be used later on were filled. At the end of the month harvesting began.

Short dry season

January. Peas and beans were harvested. Sorghum, maize, and eleusine were planted, and, in the valleys, potatoes and cassava. Beans were thrashed.

February. Late planting time for sorghum. Sweet potatoes and cassava were planted at the bottom of valleys. Eleusine fields were weeded.

Short rainy season

March. Beans were sown, and sweet potatoes and cassava planted on hill-tops. Sorghum was weeded. Second weeding of eleusine.

[19] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 136, 140.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

When the umulyango had a head (chosen in a similar way to the inzu head), he is said to have had the power to give orders to the heads of the component inzu and to draw up general rules for all the umulyango members. I was told, for instance, that the chief of a certain umulyango had ruled that the members should not marry girls of the ubwoko of the Abacyaba. This prohibition about 150 years old is still observed. When the secondary lineage had a head, he fulfilled very much the same function as an 'appeal court' for all decisions taken within the inzu. Such an umulyango organization existed among Hutu and Tutsi, but seems to have been more common in the important Tutsi lineages.

The patriclan (ubwoko) had no head and no collective activities. It was usually agamous, although there may have been an exogamy rule in one particular clan. An animal species was associated with each clan. Its members were not allowed to kill any of them and were even obliged to protect them. The animal was not thought of as a reincarnation of the ancestor's spirit but probably only as a living symbol of the clan.[14]

Unlike the inzu and the umulyango, any ubwoko could have both Tutsi and Hutu among its members. There was no purely Hutu or purely Tutsi patriclan. When asked if this meant that Tutsi and Hutu of the same clan descended from the same ancestor, Tutsi answered that it did not. They explain it by the relationships which have linked Hutu to Tutsi as clients or servants. After some time the Hutu were identified with the group of their master. Such identification was particularly easy since Tutsi frequently emigrated from one region of Ruanda to another with their Hutu clients and servants. Some Hutu told me that as Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa (mythical figures who, as their names indicate, were supposed to be ancestors of the three groups) were brothers, it is not impossible that Tutsi and Hutu of one clan could have had the same ancestor. At all events clansmen who were of different socio-'racial' groups did not exhibit any solidarity at all and behaved towards each other as complete strangers.

As has been said, Ego's wife belonged to her own patrilineage for ever. This is why the social role of Ego's wife has not been mentioned in this section. But as she took part in many of the

[14] Some examples of the totemic animals of patriclans are: Abazigaba, the leopard (*ingwe*), Abasinga, the hawk (*sahabaha*), Abega, the frog (*igikoli*), Abagesera, the wagtail (*nyamanza*), Abacyaba, the hyena (*impyisi*).